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5 December 1977

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

EUROPE

No. 1480

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EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

STATUS OF CHURCH--At the recent synod of the EKD [Protestant Church in Germany] in Saarbruecken, West Germany, Bishop Albrecht Schoenherr, chairman of the League of Protestant Churches in the GDR, outlined the status of the church in the GDR. He stated that GDR Christians aspired to neither internal emigration [i.e., withdrawal] nor external emigration, and he emphasized the determination of the GDR churches fully to participate in the life of the people "in our state." Schoenherr, who was allowed for the first time to go to West Germany, said that it is expected of GDR Christians "to settle conflicts and not to take the path of least resistance." He commented gratefully that, particularly in the last 1 1/2 years, the EKD "has stood by us in fraternal loyalty and has also expressed its solidarity." In an allusion to West German criticism of GDR church leaders in connection with the self-immolation of Pastor Bruesewitz, Schoenherr said that there was the danger "that we would be separated from one another and the church leadership in the GDR from their congregations." He stated that it is most difficult of all for GDR children because they are confronted with a pervasive communist education. However, he pointed out that recently "there have been some examples that children of Christian parents are treated exactly the same as the others." Bishop Schoenherr said: "Marxism-Leninism and the Christian faith, despite many similar goals, cannot be superimposed upon one another. Neither our political partners nor we expect an ideological solution. But we live together, Christians and non-Christians...." [Excerpt] [Bonn DIE WELT in German 8 Nov 77 p 4]

FOREIGN WORKERS--Because of the acute labor shortage prevailing in the economy, the GDR continues to be dependent on foreign workers. At the present time, according to a RADIO GDR broadcast, just under 50,000 foreign workers are employed under government contract in the GDR. [Text] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 220, 17 Nov 77 p 4]

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

COUNCILS PLAY ROLE IN CITIZENSHIP TRAINING OF YOUTH

Budapest ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS in Hungarian Sep 77 pp 769-777

[Article by Sandor Ujvari, MSZMP Chairman, Zala Megye: "The Role of the Councils in Citizenship Training of Youth"]

[Text] Educating the younger generation in a knowledge of their rights and responsibilities and to a ready and capable exercise thereof is one of the fundamental conditions for developing and broadening socialist democracy.

The tasks of citizenship education are formulated by the youth law as follows: "In the interest of having the youth be capable of participating in the management of public affairs care must be taken--even during their school instruction--that they become acquainted with their citizenship rights and responsibilities. They must be aided in acquiring the experience necessary for a responsible management of public affairs, in exercising their rights and in fulfilling their responsibilities."

Measures taken by organs with national authority have meant further progress in the interest of an improvement of conditions for and a substantive further development of citizenship training. The educational policy resolution and the subsequent system of measures taken by chief authorities have extended these aspirations to school instruction as a whole. The population policy resolution has supplemented the general system of tasks with precisely defined tasks for education and preparation for family life.

The home defense law and measures linked thereto have clarified the role of the councils and of state organs in home defense education.

Party and state resolutions have directed attention to citizenship training of youth as one of the especially timely questions of our day and have also guaranteed more intensive progress. The tasks can be carried out--in harmony with home defense education and education for family life--in school educational work as a whole and in educational effects which can be realized outside of this work.

The goals and tasks designated by the youth law and by central resolutions constitute the basis for measures taken in Zala Megye in the interest of creating and developing further the conditions for citizenship education. In the course of developing and executing our tasks--keeping in mind local conditions--we have built upon the following principles:

--The planned measures are of all-social magnitude; a broad and organized social cooperation is needed for their effective realization. These go beyond school frameworks but the foundations must be laid within the schools since 94-96 percent of the students graduating from general school study further in secondary institutions.

--This is a triple goal: acquainting the youth with citizenship activity, rights and obligations; developing a public life commitment in the youth; and practicing citizenship tasks.

--The tasks of the councils and their organs are to ensure the conditions necessary for this and to organize and supervise execution.

--The fundamental areas for realization are: classroom activity in the schools and work outside of class; the forums and frameworks of the youth movement; inclusion of the parents and social activists; and place of work education and participation by the youth in public life. This many-sided activity demands from the councils and their organs broad and continual cooperation and coordinating activity with non-council institutions and economic units too.

In accordance with the basic principles the special administrative organs and the committees of the councils--keeping in mind the special significance of the task--have dealt to an increasing extent with laying the foundations for and with a further development of citizenship training in school and outside of school.

I. Experiences With Measures Which Aid A Laying of Foundations for Citizenship Education in the Schools

Laying the foundations for citizenship education in the schools has required a broad preparation of leaders and educators--in the course of preparing for the school year and in the course of complex further training. Comprehensive and special purpose surveys in this theme and a processing of experiences in experimental education have aided a clarification of substantive and methodological questions and a determination of the correct path for further development.

As a result of comprehensive measures, the tasks connected with citizenship education figure in a special way in the annual and medium range plans of the schools. The greatest achievement of medium range planning work is that it has become clear to the educators of the megye that what is involved is a long range and ever increasing system of tasks.

1. The goals of citizenship education figure in a unique way in every subject taught in general school. Reading and a study of one's surroundings are significant in the lower grades; literature, history and geography are significant in the upper grades.

In regard to the inclusion of factors outside of class the role of the Pioneer Movement is outstanding. With unique methods and tools it offers effective support in developing and practicing public life commitment.

The Pioneer communities and self-government organs are good arenas for education and for acquiring information. The diversified programs and contacts of the movement ensure openness through many channels. They make it possible for the students to get a look at the everyday practice of social life and to get answers from the best suited sources to questions which are unclear to them. The various forums and forms of activity offer innumerable opportunities to practice the rights and responsibilities deriving from Pioneer membership.

It has been our experience that in the upper grades of general school the crucial role in the effectiveness of citizenship education is played by the history teachers, the home room teachers and the Pioneer leaders. Organized visits by students to councils and council organs and the participation of council workers and social activists in school educational work have become more frequent. These youth movement forms and forms outside of class are of great significance from the viewpoint of deepening the citizenship knowledge of students and developing their public life commitment and emotional bonds. But their educational effect can become complete only if the work by both sides is characterized by suitable planning and a deliberate preparation of programs.

The biggest problem in the general schools is that the educational effects are not integrated at an adequate level or with adequate quality. An experiment is being conducted in one school in the megye in which the teaching of citizenship information is integrated with history. Within the framework of this experiment citizenship information is taught for 3 hours per week in the second semester of the eighth grade. The method involves conversation, reports and debate and group work plays a very great role in this. The experiment has resulted in developing independent group work by the students and in expanding their information and interest. The results are influenced negatively, however, by the fact that the information is not solid or systematic enough. And the question has arisen: Are these frameworks satisfactory?

2. In the secondary schools the work of the home room teachers and teaching the fundamentals of our world view offer two fundamental possibilities for integrating educational effects.

The effect of the KISZ is significant primarily in regard to public life commitment and the practice thereof. As a result of the characteristics of this age group the opportunities are greater here than in the general schools.

The prescriptions of the new organizational regulations, the vertical structure, the undertaking of individual tasks and the annual renewal of membership have all had a stimulating effect on this activity.

With the build-up and functioning of student self-government organs, the possibility for a public life role has broadened tangibly. A high level of awareness characterizes the activity of the majority of students participating in the student committees. The forums of school democracy and of the KISZ have become arenas for the systematic practice of public life. Making use of these opportunities, the great majority of the students participate actively in the organization and guidance of school, student home and KISZ life and in maintaining order and discipline.

The openness of the schools is increasingly manifest and is expressed in their existing and ever broadening contacts with social organs, factories and institutions of public culture.

The subject titled "Foundations of Our World View," which has been taught in all the secondary schools of the megye since 1972, plays the most important integrating role. Our experiences show that the chapter titled "The Political Life of Society" is most suitable for ensuring and utilizing the possibilities for education and synthesis.

It is not a matter of indifference from the viewpoint of the effectiveness of education that 90 percent of the teaching of this subject is done by teachers who have graduated from high level political schools, most of whom work in party and school leaderships.

The leaders, teachers and students alike consider education in the fundamentals of our world view to be important and it significantly expands the sphere of citizenship information of the students, strengthens their socialist convictions and increases their sensitivity toward the problems of our society. The opinion of the students concerning the introduction of citizenship information is a function of the methods used. Insofar as this takes place in smaller communities with the inclusion of social forces and is tied to a system of democratic forums their opinions are unambiguously favorable.

Despite the achievements the teaching of this subject is not free of problems. Due to turnover, the training of educators must be broader than the daily need. Work based on the various subjects is not all at the same level and is largely dependent on the quality of the teachers' work. Teaching the subject demands unique methods and there are debated, unique problems in evaluating the students too.

Education for family life has been built into the expanding system of citizenship training as a whole in an organic and effective way. Development of the theme began in the megye 3 years ago and it extended to all schools in school year 1976-1977. When it was introduced the teachers had to

understand that what was involved was the realization of a basic educational function of the school, that the task went beyond the individual subjects and even the frameworks of the school. We had to disperse the general belief that the task was merely sexual enlightenment. At the same time it had to be understood that preparation for a humanized sexual life was an organic and important part of the program.

Preparation of the principals, home room teachers and home room teacher communities [part of sentence missing in original] provided the tools and in the past 3 years there has been a significant modernization [part of sentence missing in original] adjustment by the parents and substantive and methodological guidance for youth movement leaders.

In the period of preparation the task seemed to be an unusual one and information connected with the psycho-sexual development of the children and legal information proved to be defective. The broad preparation resulted in a relatively swift development of an educational view and brought positive results. A significant part of the educational community adopted the position that the school must naturally deal and must deal to an increasing degree with this task. The new requirement brought the educators closer to one another and awakened in many of them creative capacities and a desire for experimentation on pedagogic and methodological solutions.

But we cannot yet speak of a uniform view. Even today the development of certain themes causes difficulties for the teachers. It is also a hindering factor that the rate of maturation is different for boys and girls. The generation now in school has unique problems also. For example, half of the children are growing up without siblings and many hardly take part in the family division of labor. The problems which are arising also show that institutional preparation for family life was a step which could not be postponed.

We have the educational staff needed for citizenship education in the schools. The legal and psychological information of the teachers is expanding. They are being trained together with the associated organs and in parallel with the introduction of new study plans. Organizational frameworks for continual further training have been developed and the conditions for this have been ensured. A problem is caused by the fact that comprehensive methodological guides for planning and organizing education are not yet available and specialized material is limited.

While the experiences with citizenship training in educational institutions are favorable as a whole there have been problems too. In the general schools there is not an adequate integration of educational effects and information; at the secondary level there is methodological and evaluational uncertainty. The educational community can solve the tasks only with continual formation of awareness and with further training. It is also a problem that in many questions we must move well in advance of social thinking.

But the only possible road for progress is clear--the search for and application of even more rational and institutional solutions and more effective methods.

II. Experiences With Measures Affecting the Youth as a Whole

The solution of increasing social and economic tasks and the broad development at an ever higher level of place of work democracy and of residential area public life activity place increased demands on the development of citizenship education for the working youth too.

As a result of measures taken in recent years citizenship training among working youth has stepped up. The tasks figure to an ever greater degree in the plans of local councils, in their cooperation agreements and in the programs of socialist brigades and youth clubs. Diversified forms have developed in the places of work.

The resolutions of the megye council and executive committee have great significance in defining tasks and keeping them on the agenda. The regional, factory and local party organizations are doing outstanding work in working out unique tasks and in coordinating, supervising and aiding execution.

1. At the initiative of the council organs ceremonies for 14 and 18 year olds have become general in the educational institutions of the megye and each year these involve nearly 100 percent of the young people receiving personal documents at the age of 14 or upon entering their 18th year.

In cooperation with the local councils, the police organs and the youth organizations the great majority of the schools have organized consultations which precede the ceremonies. These provide good opportunities for repeated and concentrated discussion of the responsibilities and rights of citizenship. They have enhanced the role of the personal documents, becoming of age, legal responsibility, election and the possibility of being elected and they usually do all this within the frameworks of a celebration--in the presence of well known public life personalities--in a way which enriches the emotional world. The significance of the sequence of events is increased by tying them to the program of the Revolutionary Youth Days.

Despite repeated initiatives by the councils the celebration for 18 year olds has not become general among working youth. It is primarily in the larger economic units that this has become an organic part of the program of the place of work communities and has fit in well with the system of dealing with those beginning their careers. Consultations and debates which well serve both education and knowledge spreading have become substantive primarily at the level of narrower collectives (youth clubs, shops, youth brigades and socialist brigades). But some of the economic units have not succeeded in ensuring continual citizenship training in connection with these actions. Most often the program is limited to a single event, the festive giving of the gift books.

The gift books published by the State Youth Committee--which aid preparation for life as a citizen--are available for the schools and places of work in sufficient numbers. In accordance with the characteristics of their age these offer a good guide to the youth concerning the Constitution, the youth law and the most important citizenship tasks. It is our experience that these are good tools for education and training with every stratum of youth.

2. At the initiative of the local councils programs connected with the first election have spread to the places of work and the communities as a whole. As a result the preparation preceding the elections has become more organized.

The representation of the youth in council bodies and committees is good. We care for the training and orientation of young council members by organizing annual forums--in cooperation with the KISZ organizations--and these are very effective.

3. The role of the socialist and youth brigades has increased in the place of work citizenship training of working youth. Their patronage activity extends to more and more young people. The great majority of the more than 16,000 young people participating in the movement share in the political and public life activity taking place in the communities too.

But nearly half of the working youth--especially in the producer cooperatives and in the small plants--stand outside the sphere of the brigade movement. Their participation in place of work public life is not continuous. It causes problems that the place of work leadership and social organs are not sufficiently consistent in giving assignments and in keeping track of them. In many cases they cannot provide arenas for practicing public life and in other cases the activity of the young people is not satisfactory. Preparatory work is made difficult by the fact that in some places the activity of the economic leadership, the councils and the youth organizations is not adequately coordinated.

The council organs have taken a number of measures in the interest of dealing with special care at the places of work with young people beginning their careers and they are turning great attention to an expansion of place of work citizenship information and to continual inclusion of young people in public life. The labor affairs department of the executive committee of the megye council continually examines the situation of those beginning their careers and has found that reception of the new labor force is well organized in most plants.

4. Home defense education and preparation for military service is an organic part of the citizenship training of the youth.

In a cooperation agreement signed with the megye organs of the Hungarian Home Defense Federation and the KISZ the executive committee of the megye council has defined tasks in this area for the local councils and special administrative organs.

The home defense club network constitutes the base for home defense training; this network extends to the megye as a whole and the great majority of the members are young, the larger part being students.

School home defense training and instruction have developed primarily in the substantive area. The magnitude and level of theoretical knowledge are satisfactory but deficiencies can be experienced in practical application and in supervising and measuring the preparedness of the students. There are several reasons for this. For example, in many places there are no special open air installations and exercises are not systematic. Another inhibiting factor is that female teachers without prior military training must carry out many of the tasks of home defense training. For this reason we have included in this work a broad sphere of army, MHSZ [Hungarian Home Defense Federation] and KISZ activists. As a result the problem has moderated but it has not disappeared.

The personnel conditions for home defense education outside of class and for preparation for military service are good. In addition to the professional officers we have at our disposal the reserve officers and the trained experts of the rifle and special clubs.

The basic demonstration and technical tools needed for school training work have been ensured and have been significantly modernized in the past 3 years. Construction of open air installations--obstacle courses--is under way at a swift pace in the larger settlements.

Preparation of the working youth for military service takes place within the framework of the MHSZ clubs. The local councils have the chief role in ensuring operational conditions for these clubs. Home defense mass sport programs play a significant role in this preparation; 85 percent of those participating in combined home defense competitions and marksmanship competitions are young people.

We have sufficient study materials, guides and demonstration tools for home defense education and preparation for military service. With the systematic support of the megye and local councils the technical tools and installations are being developed and modernized at a good pace. One problem is that there are not enough firing ranges in the small settlements. In this plan period we will build 20 sport centers in the megye and this will result in a fundamental change in material conditions. In parallel with this we will introduce swimming instruction in the children's camps on the Balaton and we will build training swimming pools in the cities and open water basins in the towns.

5. As a result of council measures taken in the past 3 years education for family life has spread to the workers too.

We have established health affairs counseling institutions in Zalaegerszeg and Nagykanizsa. Health affairs enlightenment, naturally, has received the

greater emphasis in their activity thus far; a greater development of educational work can be expected over the longer run. Such tasks are stressed also in the activity of social organs and in the programs of the majority of collegiums and residential area and factory youth clubs. But such lectures are organized less regularly in places of work and they have not become an organic part of the programs in some institutions of public culture, being limited to a single action or series of lectures.

6. Youth parliaments are held in all places of work and educational institutions in the megye; experience shows that they have become new forums for the public life training of youth and for practicing their citizenship knowledge. They have brought great masses of youth into a public life role for nearly 30,000 young people participate in them in the megye.

The youth parliaments of the larger industrial enterprises have proven most effective. The problems taken up have touched primarily on developments and equipment and on some study plan questions.

III.

Our investigations in the economic units and in the institutions operating in the megye and the experiences of the 1976 youth parliaments all show that the council measures taken in close cooperation with social organs in the interest of citizenship education have resulted in significant achievements.

As a result of them citizenship training has become an organic part of school education in the lower and secondary grades alike; organizational forms for this have developed and stabilized. The teachers have learned about the social obligations of the schools. The link between the schools and the youth organizations, state and social organs and the parents has improved; the foundations for a more responsible cooperation and division of labor have strengthened.

The many-sided tasks of citizenship education in places of work--including home defense training and preparation for family life--have been cleared up. Forms of activity which serve training have broadened. A well coordinated, aware, planned educational process extending to a significant number of the places of work has started, the effectiveness of which can be measured in the substantive development of the public life activity of the youth and, in very many cases, in an increase in the number of participants.

Despite all this there are still many problems and much remains to be done for it is our fundamental task that the youth growing up should prepare suitably for life, for fulfilling their citizenship responsibilities and for an exercise of their rights. And this can be done only if all of society takes part in this work.

On the basis of our experiences we want to turn increased attention primarily to the following tasks in the period ahead:

--Laying the foundations for citizenship education is a task for school education and instruction as a whole which can be realized only jointly with the youth movement, the parents and society. Introduction of the new study plans offers a good opportunity for carrying this out and creates new methods for integrating knowledge and abilities. So it is important that in the course of preparing the study plans there should be a realization of this view, especially in the case of those subjects and themes which have integrating tasks. In accordance with this it would be justified to modify the theematics of parents' conferences, the medium range educational programs and coordination with the actions of the youth movement.

--One condition for effective work is a further development of the openness of the schools partly by an increased inclusion of parents and of people from public life and partly by broadening the social activity of the institutions and their place of work contacts.

--The tasks of citizenship education demand complex, comprehensive knowledge from educators and make necessary their continuing, institutionalized training.

Therefore, within the framework of leadership training and subject study courses, we want to give greater aid to the teachers by offering the legal, developmental psychology, and methodological information needed to teach family and citizenship subjects. The base schools designated for each region and the announcement of task themes by means of competition could aid the development of methods too.

--The development of a uniform view on places of work is indispensable for the further development of citizenship training; this means, primarily, that the leaders should understand well the importance of this activity and should take their actions in this spirit. The tools and installations needed for this work should be developed and modernized at a swifter pace too.

--Citizenship education is a long range task of great social significance. In the interest of carrying it out and extending such training to every youth stratum more planned use must be made of the possibilities offered at the place of work and by activity outside of class. In this context the unique actions, activity forms and frameworks of the youth movement merit greater attention.

I have tried above to give a picture of that activity which the councils in Zala are carrying out in the interest of citizenship education and training of the youth. The social and political significance of the task and its many-sided nature define unambiguously for us what is to be done: in possession of the experiences which have been acquired and in increased cooperation with social and economic organs and institutions further measures must continually be taken in the interest of educating the youth in a socialist spirit, forming them into socialist men and preparing them to become self-aware citizens.

HUNGARY

TRADE UNION WORK AMONG INTELLECTUALS EVALUATED

Budapest ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS in Hungarian Sep 77 pp 778-787

[Article by Dr Endre Szabo: "Several Aspects of Trade Union Work Among Public Employed Intellectuals"]

[Text] I.

Following the liberation a considerable part of the intelligentsia joined the trade union movement. The movement did great work to satisfy the organizational needs of the intellectuals within the frameworks of the branch of industry organizations and thus encourage them to catch up with the goals of the worker class. The movement succeeded in mobilizing the most progressive part of the intelligentsia in the interest of the political goals of the trade union movement and in including them in the progressive actions of the trade unions. At the same time the trade unions undertook to represent and defend the interests of the intellectual members.

The trade union movement increasingly recognized that in addition to the primacy of the work being done in the ranks of the worker class greater attention would have to be turned to the situation and work of the intelligentsia and that a greater part would have to be taken in solving the problems of some intellectual groups within the sphere of this stratum. This has been especially perceptible in recent years when, in the midst of a development and enrichment of the general strata policy activity of the trade unions, work which took into consideration the special character of the intellectual stratum strengthened and a number of initiatives and achievements were born in every area of trade union activity among intellectuals.

The intellectual and white collar trade unions took a number of significant initiatives and carried them out with success. Among the noteworthy aspects of their activity are those efforts which developed contacts between their own professional strata and society or between their professional organizations and the trade union movement as a whole. The Trade Union of Public Employees did considerable organizing and mobilizing work in the interest

of developing the most important areas of state administration and justice activity while similar work was done by the Teachers' Trade Union in educational affairs, by the Federation of Artistic Workers in linking artists and the public and by the Medical and Health Affairs Trade Union in regard to socialist health affairs.

A considerable part of the intelligentsia joined in the place of work trade union activity. The ratio of intellectuals among elected trade union officials increases year by year, in local and higher level bodies alike. More and more take part in the success of the comprehensive, national actions of the trade union movement.

In addition to the public employees, the teachers and the physicians an increasing number of technicians and economists and, not least of all, agricultural intellectuals and artists participate in trade union work. The young intellectuals--especially in the provinces--play a significant role, especially in public culture work.

The most progressive part of the intelligentsia has joined in mass political work. Many intellectuals--including public employees--have undertaken leading propagandist tasks in the trade union study courses "Timely Questions of Our Society" and many of them take part in the work of various factory and place of work academies and lecture programs, in international solidarity actions, etc. Their number is increasing in the various theoretical and professional committees working with the supreme leadership of the trade union movement.

The public employee intelligentsia--which includes in its ranks large numbers of lawyers, economists, technicians, teachers, physicians, public culture experts, scientific researchers, etc.--participates actively in the organization of public life, in developing public culture and in the activity of trade union and other organs aimed at citizenship, legal and other popular science knowledge spreading.

Despite the favorable experiences it cannot be said that the activity of the trade unions among the intellectuals today corresponds in every respect to the needs and the requirements. Nor can it be said that the effectiveness of the intellectual stratum policy is entirely satisfactory nor that the trade union movement has developed in every respect the characteristic aspects of the intelligentsia, as an independent stratum with a unique character, in the interest of suitably exploiting it in the content or methods of work.

The 8 October 1976 meeting of the National Council of Trade Unions called attention to the problematic aspects of trade union intellectual stratum policy or rather to the development of this activity when its agenda included a further development of trade union work among intellectuals. The position statement published concerning this meeting called attention to the fact that the trade union movement as a whole and the individual branch

trade unions must reckon better with the fact that the activity of the intelligentsia is of ever increasing importance in the life of society and in trade union work therein.

II.

One of the graphic indicators of the development of our society in the decades since the liberation is the numerical increase in the intelligentsia. At the time of the last census before the liberation their number hardly reached 100,000. At the time of the 1970 census more than 300,000 people with advanced degrees lived in the area of the country.

The professional structure of the intelligentsia also changed together with and in harmony with the progress of socialist society building. The numerical predominance of the lawyers ended while the number of graduate technicians, agronomists, economists and teachers increased. The traditional intellectual functions changed, new ones developed, and together with all this the social status of the intelligentsia was modified too. The process cannot yet be regarded as complete but the trends are already quite noticeable.

The social composition of the intelligentsia has changed significantly. It's earlier closed character has ended and intellectual careers are open to workers and peasants and their children.

As the number of intellectuals increases at a swift pace and as their professional and social structure are transformed so the social awareness of the intellectuals changes. The conditions of intellectual work are changing and respect for this work is increasing. Their creative and scientific work not only has a great role in our domestic life; in addition, many recognized members of international culture and scientific life come from the ranks of the Hungarian intelligentsia.

It is an expression of the behavior of the intelligentsia, which espouses and builds socialism, that more and more work is being done in public life, in the various state power, representative and social organizations.

The consistent policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, resting on unbroken and solid principled foundations, exercises a crucial effect on the thinking and stand of the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia has become convinced that the MSZMP not only declares but also realized the increased social role of the intelligentsia in socialism. The creative cooperation of the intelligentsia is required and is considered indispensable and good possibilities are provided for the development of the abilities of the intelligentsia.

Summing up what has been said we can state that the process of developing a socialist intelligentsia has progressed significantly in past years.

But we do not mean to say by this that the socialist transformation of the intelligentsia is already complete. The fact that the great majority of the intellectuals follow and support, from the political point of view, the fundamental goals of the worker class and of our people does not mean that the picture is so unambiguous or so favorable in regard to their world view or ideological profile. Certainly there has been development in this regard too. There are outstanding Marxist-Leninist ideologists and there are a large number of intellectuals who have adopted and who consciously espouse Marxism-Leninism. There are those who stand close to Marxism, who accept much and consider it natural and who espouse our chief socialist principles. But at the same time, naturally, there are intellectuals who do not espouse our world view but who do not turn against us; indeed, they cooperate well with us and take part in our constructive work.¹

We regard all these factors as things which help the trade unions to provide good foundations for and correctly work out further goals for their work with the intelligentsia.

III.

When developing trade union work among intellectuals the movement, and the Trade Union of Public Employees therein, started from the position that the fundamental task among the intellectuals was the same as it was in general: to strengthen the worker power and to defend the interests of the trade union members. Strengthening the worker power requires today, before all else, that we carry out ever better our economic and ideological tasks. The solution of every other essential social problem depends on this and this defines, among other things, the development of science and culture, an improvement of their possibilities, raising the standard of living and an enrichment of the socialist way of life.

A fundamental condition for solving the everyday economic tasks is increasing the production and social activity of the workers--including the intellectuals. This demands from the intellectuals that they fulfill their obligations completely, put their knowledge and abilities at the service of the people and aid with their work and behavior the success of our social policy goals.

It follows from this that the trade unions must devote greater attention than previously to all those work movements aimed at improving work among the intellectuals, including the public employees. They must develop those unique forms which create favorable conditions for the social activities of the intelligentsia. Opinions are divided--and this is a frequently debated theme especially among state administrative and administration of justice workers--as to whether there is need in this area for the socialist brigade movement. It is the position of the trade unions, and of the Trade Union of Public Employees, that this movement should be organized where it

1. Compare: Miklos Ovari, "The Intelligentsia in Our Society," SZAKSZERVEZETI SZEMLE, No 1, 1977.

would serve a purpose and where there are realistic conditions for it. But the chief thing is not really the form but rather that the trade union movement provide suitable incentive and aid, among public employees too, for effective work, culture and the development of the characteristics of the socialist way of life, doing all this within the frameworks of forms which best suit the goal.

In our day a knowledge of Marxism-Leninism is indispensable for modern culture. It follows from this that by using their unique tools the trade union must increase opportunities which serve an expansion of the world view preparedness and professional-political knowledge of the intelligentsia. This is all the more significant among public employees because of the nature of their work. For this reason the Trade Union of Public Employees must create more and more opportunities so that the opinions of its members can be expressed frankly and openly and so that the correct positions can crystallize in useful debate forums. Nor should it be forgotten that in addition to being receptive to the new, assuming responsibility and service to the people a critical view is an important characteristic of the socialist intelligentsia. This view is a sign of progressive dissatisfaction, of a critical awareness which aids the cause of socialism. This is self-criticism too, a critical analysis of one's own achievements, a rejection of prejudices and support for care and strictness in connection with work. Only by providing suitable forums and incentive can we develop an atmosphere of debate in which what is decisive are not prestige viewpoints but rather meeting facts with facts and arguments with arguments. The trade unions have important obligations in developing such an atmosphere and their responsibility is unambiguous.

The trade unions want to try to better serve the complexity of political and professional training and culture of the intellectuals. In this connection it is worth noting, for example, the competitions which have taken place successfully for several years among public employees, especially in the council apparatus. This complexity is encouraged by the thematics of these competitions. The trade union considers it justified to continue them and develop them and is working to this end.

The experiences direct the attention of the trade unions to the fact that they should make their agitation and propaganda among the intellectuals more differentiated and more effective. The central leadership of the Trade Union of Public Employees put this theme on the agenda in the recent past. It was established that propaganda today is often schematic and does not take into consideration adequately the medium in which it must be effective. It does not reckon enough with the fact that there is a greater demand for information among the intellectuals in general and thus among the public employees too.

Increasing emphasis attaches to the significance of persuasion based on many-sided information so that the intellectuals should adopt as their own our policy in a given question, not only formally but actually, filtered through their own thinking, and so that they can represent it on the basis of an internal conviction.

A constant increase in professional knowledge is a crucial element in culture for the intelligentsia. Keeping up with the special sciences requires much energy but without this it would be difficult to meet the requirements of the age. This is especially true in areas of scientific research and planning but it should not be ignored in regard to intellectuals working in offices either. This is reflected by those regulations which set training requirements and a system of further training for workers in state administration and the administration of justice.

The trade unions play an important role in aiding and encouraging professional further training for intellectuals. By organizing various professional programs (conferences, professional days, exchanges of experiences, exhibits, etc.), by popularizing professional publications, with competitions in various themes proclaimed jointly with state organs, by increased material recognition within wage policy for professional knowledge, etc., the Trade Union of Public Employees desires to have an effect in this direction. Despite all this, professional further training for the intelligentsia does not take place to a decisive extent within trade union frameworks, and this is proper. Increasing the professional knowledge of the intelligentsia belongs primarily to the activity of state organs and professional scientific associations. But all this does not mean that the role of the trade unions is negligible. On the basis of their place of work experiences the trade unions have much valuable information about the development of the professional knowledge of the intellectuals and they know the tasks confronting the several plants, institutions and offices and the requirements deriving from these tasks. So effective cooperation among state organs, educational institutions, scientific associations and the trade unions is essential. The forms for this are developing increasingly well. The trade unions are participating institutionally too in developing themes aimed at professional further training for certain intellectual groups. Broad and useful cooperation in the development and conduct of further training programs has been developed by the Trade Union of Public Employees, especially with the Council Office of the Council of Ministers and with the megye councils.

The trade unions are participating in the discovery and popularization of new methods for acquiring professional information. Experience shows, however, that some of the intellectuals do not recognize these adequately. Mastering modern information is held back by a lack of access to information sources, books and journals, and in some cases by a lack of knowledge of foreign languages. These problems weigh most heavily, perhaps, on the provincial and especially on the village intellectuals. The fact that some groups of intellectuals are afraid of life outside of the big cities can probably be explained by the fact that the possibilities for keeping up are worse in the small settlements than in the big cities.

The trade unions are participating with increasing intensity in a liquidation of the hindering factors, in eliminating the situational differences for intellectuals living in the large cities and in the provinces or in the villages.

Good contact and cooperation among intellectuals working in scientific research, in planning and guidance or in direct practical production work are important in the professional development of the intelligentsia. This goes beyond interests serving professional development. Efforts in this direction have a serious role and are of significance in a welding together of the intellectual stratum in a correct direction, in ensuring an exchange of opinions among various categories of intellectuals and, in some cases, in bringing to the surface and resolving differences of opinion. Steps in this direction have been taken already within trade union frameworks. The Trade Union of Public Employees too has supported several initiatives, primarily in the interest of cooperation among workers in basic research and in areas of applied research. In many respects, however, the possibilities remain unexploited.

Increasing general culture is important among the goals of cultural education for intellectuals. In many areas the cultural activity of the trade unions has been a favorable and useful factor in satisfying requirements. But adjusting the work to new requirements seems necessary here also. Attention must be paid to that developmental process which has taken place in our homeland especially in the past decade and which has had a significant effect on the development of the culture, needs and interests of the intelligentsia and on expectations in connection with the trade unions. The base of cultural institutions has expanded and there has been great progress in the spread of the means of mass communication, of books, journals, television and radio. We must also reckon with the fact that among intellectuals an ever greater part of the effort directed at increasing general culture takes place within the frameworks of self-cultivation. For this very reason high quality cultural service which is differentiated within the intelligentsia too is an important requirement for satisfying the needs of this stratum.

Social practice also has a strong effect on the development of the awareness of the intelligentsia. The expansion of factory and place of work democracy is creating new possibilities for the trade unions to bring in the intellectuals so that the intellectuals should participate in the solution of certain problems in their special areas and elsewhere too and join in the development and realization of plans connected with living and working conditions. The necessity for this is obvious from the viewpoint of the leadership at the place of work too. The need for a correct leadership style and for well-founded decisions makes it indispensable, from the side of both state economic leaders and social organs, that practicing experts be brought in on a wide scale and that their opinions be listened to. So it is important that the trade unions make good use of factory and place of work democratic forms. It is timely to emphasize this among workers in state administration too. The work being done to create a modern state administration absolutely requires the full inclusion of those interested in this. The simplification of state administration and the legal, professional, swift and humane conduct of affairs can be ensured only with the cooperation of the apparatus, their creative participation and responsible behavior.

There is great need that mutual and useful cooperation based on a unity of rights and responsibilities develop among workers in guiding organs and those directly applying the law within individual places of work and beyond.

This requirement also applies to those questions which pertain to the work load, working relationships, income situation and moral and material recognition of the apparatus.

In addition to what has been mentioned already, it is a very important goal of trade union activity among intellectuals that it stimulate the intelligentsia to pass on their knowledge and information.

In this period of our social development the trade union movement must take a greater role in the ideological struggle. The need to expand and to improve the quality of world view knowledge spreading increases accordingly.

The trade union movement has good opportunities for ensuring greater participation by the intelligentsia in this. This is of great significance from the viewpoint of developing political knowledge spreading but it is of no less value in regard to developing the awareness of the intelligentsia. One should not ignore the fact that while the intellectuals are participating in political work among workers and peasants the views and ways of thinking of these basic working classes will have an effect on them too and will thus form the thought world of the intelligentsia. The trade union movement regards a strengthening and deepening of this mutual effect as an important mission.

It is a more important interest of the trade union movement than it was before to bring experts on a broad scale into mass propaganda work for production, into scientific-technical knowledge spreading and, not least of all, into the creation of the subjective, human conditions for economic efficiency.

The trade unions, as the organs representing the interests of the worker class, of those living from wages and salaries, must deal on an even broader scale with the problems of the state and institutions of the worker class, stepping up their assistance and supervisory functions in this regard and their legal and other knowledge spreading activity which serves citizenship education. The legal aid service is a significant new element in the link between the trade union movement and the state administrative organs, as is the joint promotion of initiatives aimed at a place of work expansion of the client service. The trade unions have a many-sided interest in a successful realization of proposals pertaining to the development of public education, public culture, scientific research and our scientific life. Accordingly it is indispensable that activity forms in these areas be consistently and constantly enriched and that broad use be made of the participation and aid of the professional intellectuals. Similarly there are many common points of contact at the level of cooperation between factories and settlements in regard to regional policy. All of this makes necessary even better planned, systematic and effective cooperation among trade unions and those working in public services and intellectuals working in other responsible positions.

The trust which the intellectuals show in the trade unions, their opinion of and orientation toward the trade unions, depends to a very large extent on how and how effectively the trade unions deal with a representation and defense of the interests of the intellectuals. "The living and working conditions of the intelligentsia have improved together with the living and working conditions of our entire people. In general their moral and material recognition and the care for them do not lag behind the present possibilities of our society. But along with this it is also true that the living and working conditions and wage level of some intellectual groups--primarily teachers and to some extent doctors and those working in public culture and in a few areas of state administration, and this directly affects the situation of public employees--do lag behind and this causes problems. The trade unions consider it necessary that this backwardness be overcome in proportion to the growth in the economic strength of the country."² It is also essential that greater care be taken everywhere in the wage policies of state and economic organs and of trade unions to watch the income or the development of income of the intellectuals or of certain groups of them, influencing this in the correct direction and supporting with determination the satisfaction of just demands.

Because of the social and political importance of their work and because of the political, professional and moral demands made of them the intellectuals working in public administration merit special attention. In the course of their economically important activity, settling official matters, regional guidance and organizing social, cultural and health services they come into contact with virtually the entire population. Their satisfaction of needs, how they do it and in what way, has an effect on the mood and public morale of the citizens and, in the final analysis, on the opinion they develop about our political system. Going beyond material recognition this should be reflected in the social respect and recognition accorded them.

As a result of the wage increase carried out in 1974 about 55,000 of those working in council and other public service organs got a 10-15 percent wage increase out of the central wage fund. As a national average the workers in town and village councils got a 20-21 percent wage increase. In addition to the wage increases the remuneration fund in the organs affected increased by 3-6 percent. But the central wage measures did not affect those working in cultural institutions--libraries, museums, archives, culture homes--or those working in central administration, the courts and the attorneys' offices. This problem was solved in the area of public culture by the central wage increases of 1 September 1977.

Although the measures taken in recent years to improve wages and working conditions have produced an improvement in stabilizing the work force the turnover of workers in public administration--especially in the councils--and in the administration of justice is still considerable. Much remains to be done in the interest of having more people choose public administration work as a career.

2. Resolution of the National Council of Trade Unions concerning trade union work done among the intellectuals, 8 October 1976.

The situation of small town and village intellectuals, including the public employees who live here in large numbers, poses unique problems. Socially this category is of equal rank with the urban intelligentsia and they do useful work. More and more of them are respected in their profession. The trade unions are helping a healthy development of village intellectual life, partly through their own possibilities and partly by making proposals to state institutions. They are playing a part in having worthy intellectuals receive national forums more frequently so that they can become known, recognized and respected by the public opinion of the country. But there are certainly still disadvantages, in many respects objective conditions, which must be reckoned with.

For this reason the trade union movement, the Trade Union of Public Employees too, wants to turn even greater attention in the future to the problems of the provincial intelligentsia, to mobilizing for gradual liquidation of these problems.

The trade union movement handles with special care the place of work integration of young intellectuals and the problems of material and social services for them. The Trade Union of Public Employees also is seeking those unique possibilities which will aid the youth through the problems of starting a career, and usually starting a family at the same time. The trade union youth committees have realized a number of useful initiatives and the proposals made at the recently held youth parliaments offer new possibilities for progress and for improving the situation of the youth.

There are very many working women in the ranks of the intelligentsia. Certain areas--for example, health, teaching or state administration--have been virtually feminized. The increase in the number of working women is a gratifying phenomenon but it brings new problems for which solutions must be found. The trade unions are determinedly urging the overcoming of the difficulties everywhere. They are seeking ways and means, nationally and in places of work, which will make possible the further study which is vital in intellectual work, inclusion in social life and promotion to leadership positions for women also. Naturally this can be realized only gradually as a result of a longer process because the solution is influenced by the given situation and possibilities of our people's economy. One area which cannot be neglected in overcoming the difficulties is ending prejudices connected with women and decreasing subjectivity and the trade unions are striving to do this powerfully and determinedly.

Going beyond what has been said thus far in connection with a defense of interests--wage questions, working conditions, support for young people beginning their careers, questions connected with the work of women, etc.--if we talk about defending the interests of intellectuals we are also thinking of how to create for them the political and social conditions for creative work. Naturally this is not only the task of the trade unions but the trade unions also have a responsibility in this matter. There is also need

for opportunities for participation in public affairs and there should be suitable forums for this. The trade unions also play a very great role in ensuring these forums. It is also important that the intellectuals--like other social groups--feel their social usefulness.

Mention must also be made, in connection with the problems of defending interests, of the fact that the professional knowledge and scientific activity of the Hungarian intelligentsia represent a great resource. This resource has a good name even internationally. So it is not a matter of indifference how we manage our intellectual capital. It must be noted that in some cases and in some places the management of intellectual work has left something to be desired. It has happened that highly qualified experts had to include in their work activity which should have been entrusted to assistants. Such a waste of intellectual capital is harmful to the people's economy and to the individual development of the experts themselves. The trade unions consider it their obligation to take action against such phenomena.

The link between the trade union movement and the intelligentsia can look back on beautiful traditions. Even before the liberation the progressively thinking intellectuals cooperated with the trade unions and found forms and opportunities for activity within the trade unions. The link between and cooperation among the organized workers and the best of the intelligentsia were thus strengthened.

The liberation of the country brought a radical change in the relationship between the intellectuals and the trade union movement too. The obstacles to organization fell before those who earlier had no way to organize. The intellectual trade unions were formed. The intellectuals, together with the workers of the country, worked actively for reconstruction, to set the country on its feet and to consolidate political power. The industrial reorganization, within which each branch combined intellectual and non-intellectual workers, substantially decreased the professional isolation, improved healthy cooperation among intellectuals and workers employed in other assignments in the same branch and aided their union.

Today the trade unions in Hungary have about 300,000 intellectual members. The majority of them are gathered in intellectual or white collar trade unions but a very significant number of them are in the other branch of industry trade unions too. Dealing with them with unique tools and in a unique way, bringing them into trade union work, mobilizing them for the definition and realization of society's tasks, encouraging their public life role and dealing with their living and working conditions and culture are in the interest of the intelligentsia and are important missions for every trade union.

The need for increased work with intellectuals was formulated in the resolution of the 23rd Congress of Hungarian Trade Unions held in the fall of 1975. It is absolutely necessary for the realization of the resolution

that the trade unions get even closer to the various strata and become increasingly active among them because only in this way can they know truly and objectively the situation, problems and needs of these strata. Only in this way can they deal even more responsibly than before with their problems, represent their just interests, defend their legal rights and resolve possible clashes of interests. All this applies to dealing with public employee intellectuals too.

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POLAND

INTERNATIONAL PROSPECTS, U.S. SHIFTS VIEWED

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish 30 Sep 77 p 5

[Article by Andrej Zychowicz]

[Text] This year's autumn should make a good entry into the European political diary. The atmosphere of uncertainty caused by controversies between the capitalist and socialist countries over the matter of disarmament and their sharp confrontation on the issue of human rights appears to be passing. This does not mean that differences of opinion and the confronting problems have suddenly disappeared. But there is good will on both sides.

The June talks in Belgrade were already fortelling a better political season for the fall. In spite of scepticism, and even pessimistic views, of which there was no shortage then, common sense triumphed in Belgrade. Since then nothing has occurred which would have a negative impact on the meeting of representatives from 33 European countries and 2 North American countries, which begins on 4 October in Belgrade. Instead, a diplomatic easing of tension can be seen--for example, the recent top level Polish-French meeting. The joint communique not only spoke of mutual trust and concurring goals, a factor which has a substantial bearing on international relations, but also foresees new initiatives. On the other hand an agreement of views with respect to the realization of all of the Helsinki principles testifies to the fact that the existence of differences in political systems is not synonymous with the existence of barriers which would hinder the establishment of friendly relations.

In keeping with the general line of the policy, Poland plays an unusually active role in Europe. Let us consider the planned visit in September of the Chancellor of West Germany Helmut Schmidt, a visit which actually was postponed; but this does not change the fact that Bonn is approaching the meeting in Belgrade with great responsibility, since any disturbances would raise the question of the concept of the so-called eastern policy, which brings West Germany various benefits.

Of course, the Moscow-Washington relations have extremely essential significance. The visit of USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrei Gromyko

to the United States is evidence that the continuing dialogue of the two powers is entering a new phase and creates the possibility of negotiation, which is essential in the disarmament question. The agreement negotiated in the framework of the SALT talks comes to an end on 3 October, therefore, there has been a burning need to find even a temporary means by which the nuclear arms race, somewhat slowed down thanks to the agreement in Vladivostok, would not start up again with new strength. That is why the Soviet Union and the United States committed themselves, each in a unilateral declaration, also to adhere to the hitherto existing resolution even after 3 October. It is also known from the words of President Carter and of Minister Gromyko that disarmament negotiations will be continued. And this means a lot, if we remember the breakdown of talks of Secretary of State Cyrus Vance in Moscow at the beginning of the year.

In American politics there appears to be a departure from the ideological rhetoric in favor of pragmatic diplomacy. Evidence of this is President Carter's proposed trip through the continent.

In Latin America the president plans to visit Venezuela (with its large oil deposits) and Brazil (the largest country on that continent). He plans to visit the largest power in Africa, Nigeria; in Asia, he will visit India with its 500 million people as well as Iran (again oil), and in Europe, France (a country conducting its own politics independent of NATO), Belgium, the headquarters of NATO and the EEC, and Poland, a socialist country.

It is an interesting list. I would say it is not commonplace, and is even rather surprising, like so many other ideas of the American President. The Belgian visit certainly should also be treated as a gesture towards the NATO allies. But the other countries?

With this trip the president of the United States apparently wants to manifest the American interest in nations with diverse political systems on different continents, but countries which play an important role in their region, whether in regard to the size of area and population, energy resources, or an active policy backed up by an adequate economic potential. If the Carter trip strengthens the positive elements in American politics, then we can look forward to progress in other matters. The readiness of the Soviet Union to undertake armament negotiations, search for a just solution in the Near East and in Europe to undertake joint efforts to bring the East and the West closer, guarantees that not one possibility for deepening detente will be overlooked.

The Paris newspaper LE MONDE presented in its columns an opinion (which thanks to the reprinting of it in the last issue of FORUM the Polish reader can get acquainted with it), that a retrogression has occurred in Europe and once again it finds itself in the times of the Holy Empire and the Thirty Year War. It is a view equally pessimistic as it is untrue.

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POLAND

PZPR JOURNAL COMMENTS ON CARRILLO, EUROCOMMUNISM

Warsaw IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA in Polish No 9, Sep 77 pp 111-120

[Article by Zygmunt Simbierowicz: "The Strength of the Communist Movement Results from its Unity"]

[Text] The Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe in Berlin last year (29-30 June 1976), in which delegates from 29 parties participated, worked out a common position of European communists in the face of the most important current problems of our continent.

The compass directing the analysis of these problems and outlining realistic proposals for their solution was provided by the great humanistic values, peace, security, cooperation and social progress, while the method of analysis was provided by Marxism-Leninism, the theory and method common to the entire communist movement. Peace, security, cooperation and social progress are values of all peoples, worked out in the many centuries of the material and spiritual development of societies. The communist movement included them in its standard from the very beginning of its existence, and is their most consistent and resolute defender today. The communist movement is also their most powerful advocate, thanks to its achievements so far in the economic, social and political fields. Marxism-Leninism, as the theory of social reality and the method of investigating and transforming them, has also found practical verification in these successes.

The greatest achievement in the history of the communist movement is the fact that part of humanity, beginning with the time of the Great October Socialist Revolution, is successfully finding in socialist life the humanist goals and values with which it was and is saturated. The political expression of this achievement is the existence of a community of nations which, directed by communist and workers' parties, are bringing socialism and communism to fruition.

The states of the socialist community, along with the communist parties struggling for the interests of the working masses in capitalist countries and with organizations of national independence, have a greater and greater effect upon the course and nature of events in the world. They form an effective political barrier against all aggressive forces brought into being by capitalism, for whom peace, security, cooperation and social progress are only empty sounds, or at most to be treated as instruments.

Today the aggressive forces of capitalism can no longer openly oppose the policy of peaceful coexistence among countries of different socioeconomic structures, which has been promoted by the socialist countries, and it is even more difficult for them in the face of the fraternal aid and support provided by the communist movement and the community of socialist states to organize military crusades against countries and peoples who wish to cast off or have cast off the capitalist shackles limiting their social development.

This position in the international political sphere and this real strength were achieved by the communist movement because it has available a scientific theory of social reality which furnishes efficient tools for reconstructing this reality in conformity with humanistic ideals and goals, and because it is impregnated with deep solidarity, multilateral cooperation and mutual trust, which characterize all of the working people in the entire world, and especially the working class which is united and stimulated by the internationalism of the proletariat. The Marxist-Leninist theory of social reality and proletariat internationalism are thus unusually important and vital matters for the communist movement, and are nurtured, developed and intensified by communists. Many communist and workers' parties, working under various conditions and in various countries, have expressed this in their congressional and other program documents, and in the practical realization of their programs, and the idea has also been expressed by representatives of our party in bilateral and multilateral negotiations which have taken place in recent years. In addition the final document of the Berlin Conference stressed that the participants in its party "will develop their international and fraternal cooperation and solidarity, based on principles of good will, in the spirit of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin..." and that "the battle for socialism in their own country and the responsibility of every country toward its own working class and people are associated with the mutual solidarity of the working people of every country...."

Communists are not the only ones who realize that the source of strength in the communist movement is the Marxist-Leninist theory and proletariat internationalism, because anticomunists of every hue know this very well, including the advocates and defenders of the shrinking capitalist world. They persist in their efforts to shake Marxism-Leninism in theory, to disrupt internationalism and to weaken the force of the socialist countries by methods of political and economic diversion. Ceaselessly they initiate various divisive and propaganda campaigns against the communist movement

in general and against individual parties and socialist countries. For some time now we have had to deal with the activity of the "defense of the rights of man" aimed against our countries and their political and legal systems. Another matter, of prior importance, is the continual propaganda uproar the bourgeois press about Santiago Carrillo's book and "Eurocommunism."

Eleven months after the end of the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Europe, at the end of May and the beginning of June, the current secretary general of the Spanish Communist Party, Santiago Carrillo, published a book entitled "'Eurocomunismo' y Estado ['Eurocommunism' and the State]," Barcelona, 1977, 220 pp, in which "Eurocommunism" (putting this term in quotation marks and stating that it is used for lack of a better name) is presented as a model of revolutionary change elaborated for developed capitalist societies.

At the Berlin Conference Santiago Carrillo asserted: "Recently in circles foreign to us they have spoken about "Eurocommunism." This term has been coined very unfortunately. There is no "Eurocommunism," and the term could not be accepted by communist parties, such as the Japanese Party, outside of Europe." Eleven months later Santiago Carrillo accepted this term politically with formal reservations.

Bourgeois propaganda insidiously contrived "Eurocommunism" to define political concepts and tactics worked out in recent years by communist parties operating in several West European capitalist countries. Bourgeois propaganda pinned and is still pinning great hopes on this term to disrupt the international unity of the international workers' movement.

The best proof of the failure of the anticommunist tactics was actually the course of the Berlin Conference and the joint document accepted by all of the European communist and workers' parties. This states that the communist and workers' parties participating in the Conference "consider it their duty to call the attention of all popular forces to the damage caused to the development of the movement for peace and progress by militant anticommunism. The communist parties do not consider as anticommunists all of those who do not agree with their policy or who take a critical position in regard to their activity. Anticommunism was and remains a weapon of imperialistic and reactionary forces in their battle, not only against communists, but also against other democrats and against democratic freedom. These forces have initiated campaigns against communist parties and socialist countries, beginning with the Soviet Union, against the forces of socialism and progress, campaigns aimed at discrediting communist ideals and policies in the eyes of the masses, and preventing the unity of the workers' movement and the cooperation of democratic and popular forces."

The anticommunist matter cropped up in many statements of communist party leaders at the Berlin Conference. In addition the secretary general of the Spanish Communist Party said: "European public opinion is following the discussions at this conference with a great deal of attention. It has been

the cause of a great deal of varied speculation. Some have been of the opinion that ... we will not be able to come to an agreement concerning the decisive problems of our times, and have spoken about the crisis in the communist movement. Many have rejoiced because of the appearance of differences of opinion among us, considering these a sign of weakness. However, more sober thinkers are beginning to consider these differences of opinion as a mark of maturity and strength, as confirmation of the political and theoretical improvement in our movement."

Santiago Carrillo's book is divided into an introduction and six chapters, which are entitled as follows: The state against society, The ideological organs of the state, The apparatus of state compulsion, The model of democratic socialism, The historical roots of "Eurocommunism" and The dictatorship of the proletariat. As the author says, it was written in the period between February 1976, when Santiago Carrillo illegally returned to Spain, and December 1976. It appears that one of the main reasons for its publication was the approaching elections, in which the KPH [Spanish Communist Party] was in political contention for the first time after prolonged activity in the underground, and after years of heroic and persistent struggle with the local brand of fascism.

The content of "'Eurocommunism' and the state" is an analysis of many fundamental problems in the strategy and tactics of the workers' movement, particularly with reference to communist parties operating in developed capitalist countries. Many important questions of a philosophical, economic and sociological nature are also discussed. A great deal of space is devoted in it to an analysis and evaluation of the experience and practice of communist parties in socialist countries, especially the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and their domestic and foreign policies where, in view of the relative proportion of these evaluations, it is decidedly critical of this policy and of the current state of social and political reality in the socialist countries.

The point of departure in Santiago Carrillo's analysis is a negation of the justification and suitability, under modern conditions of state and monopolistic capitalism, of the major set of problems facing the state in socialism and the relationship of the workers' party to the socialist state apparatus propounded by the classical scholars of Marxism-Leninism, and especially by V. I. Lenin, primarily in the work entitled: *The State and Revolution*, written shortly before the outbreak of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in which the Marxist concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat was developed and adjusted for the conditions of Russia at that time. In evaluating the justification and validity of the concepts of classical scholars of Marxism-Leninism in the times in which they arose, Santiago Correlo affirms that they cannot be applied today in the economically developed capitalist countries, in view of the completely altered economic and social conditions.

The author of "'Eurocommunism' and the State" does not hide the fact that the above-mentioned standpoint is a revision of the basic political statements of Marxism-Leninism, but neither does he fear a reproach of revisionism because, as he states, the development of the Marxist theory and its political thought was nothing but a succession of revisions of earlier opinions, and one of the greatest revisionists with respect to Marx and Engels was Lenin himself. This is not really such an original view, since bourgeois propaganda and science have not ceased their efforts for a long time, particularly in their Marxological publications, to raise the most varied kinds of opposition: old Marx-young Marx, Engels-Marx, and Lenin-Marx and Engels.

The key point in the book is the problem of whether the current socioeconomic situation in the developed capitalist countries has really undergone such great and essential changes in relation to the situation at the beginning of the 20th century, whether the theoretical concepts elaborated in Marxism to analyze the situation can no longer be applied, and whether the practical political concepts resulting from this analysis are erroneous or not.

Santiago Carrillo would give an affirmative answer to the question formulated in this way, because the fundamental and widely developed idea in his book is the concept of the contemporary formation of a new historical bloc, a new social force decisive at present, a force benefiting from all progressive changes which it is able to accomplish, and which is not limited and cannot be limited merely to the working class, to the proletariat. According to S. Carrillo this new social formation, this new historical bloc is "a bloc of the forces of work and culture in society," and only it can be and is the new political-force, something in the line of a confederation of various political parties and social organizations, but transcending a simple electoral coalition.

This concept had appeared earlier in some PCE* documents and was expressed by Santiago Carrillo in his address at the Berlin Conference. He said: "For us communists struggling in capitalist countries, the main problem facing us now is to reach an agreement with socialists, social democrats, Christians, radicals and other democratic circles for the purpose of creating a bloc of forces of a popular nature which could present opposition to authoritarianism, render the system of authority more and more democratic, point out progressive solutions to the problems caused by the economic, political, cultural and moral crisis engendered by imperialism and contribute to the formation of conditions for a social transformation of society.... We, the communist parties in developed and highly developed capitalist countries, face a special group of problems. The specific requirements of the development of the class struggle under our conditions leads us to a path towards socialism and to forms of it which cannot be identical to those in other countries.... The hegemony of the sources of work and culture, which are in the first ranks in our country in the struggle for socialism, cannot be an imposed form of dictatorship, but will be established with respect for political and ideological pluralism, without a one-party system and with full respect under all conditions for the results of general elections. Our desire is for this

* [Spanish Communist Party]

process to be carried out in a peaceful way and for the masses of the people to take an active and permanent part in it."

These and many other problems within the range of Marxist theory and of the strategy and tactics of the workers' movement, brought up in Santiago Carrillo's book, are problems of discussion both within the framework of theoretical considerations and in the light of the historical and contemporary experience of the workers' movement and of the revolutionary practice of societies which have already entered the path of building socialism and communism.

Discussions on these problems have occurred and will continue to occur among communists, and not only European ones, but it does not seem that the most proper place for them should be the pages of bourgeois publications and newspapers. These discussions with the participation of representatives of many communist parties take place in numerous scientific institutions and at theoretical and ideological conferences and symposia, and their results are published. They are permeated by an understanding of the importance of the problems, by care for due interpretation of the thoughts and intentions of the discussants, by respect for the opinions and convictions of opponents, and by avoidance of everything which could appear to be meddling in the internal affairs and policies of other parties. The discussions are held in a spirit of cooperation and of proletarian solidarity and internationalism, so characteristic, for example, of the course of the Berlin Conference.

However, discussions on the concepts of "Eurocommunism" and Santiago Carrillo's book will be very difficult because of the tendency to criticize various phenomena of social life in the socialist countries, particularly the USSR. The author writes extensively about spurious deformations occurring in the activity of the Soviet state.

However, it is possible that Santiago Carrillo's subjective intention was to combat the diversionary idea, widespread in the West, according to which, as he writes, there are really two equations: democracy = capitalism, and socialism = Soviet domination, but the method he chose is absolutely unsuited for this purpose and frustrates his very intention. Unlimited criticism of actually existing socialism can only contribute to consolidating this idea in the awareness of people otherwise critically disposed to the capitalist order, who have this kind of "truth" constantly crammed into their heads by bourgeois propaganda.

On the other hand the bourgeois mass media have taken Santiago Carrillo's book mainly as a far-reaching criticism of the conditions in the socialist countries, of the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of other communist parties in fraternal countries. For example, a great deal of emphasis was placed on the part of the author's address at a press conference when the book was presented: "Eurocommunism does not repudiate the principles of the Great October Socialist Revolution, but considers itself to be their defender and heir, but...limiting itself to repeating

either Marx or Lenin like a parrot is the least Marxist approach, as Communists can well imagine."

Thus it is understandable, both from the objective viewpoint of the incorporation of Santiago Carrillo's arguments in the anticomunist chorus and from the viewpoint of the direct attack on USSR politics, that the Soviet weekly NEW TIMES, in No 26, 1977, published an article critical of Santiago Carrillo's opinions, entitled "In Defiance of the Interests of Peace and Socialism in Europe." In this article our Soviet comrades state: "An objective analysis of what S. Carrillo says in his book on this matter (Eurocommunism) leads to the following conclusion: This term (or maybe concept) is used by the author and defended for the following purposes:

--First, to build opposition between the communist parties in the capitalist countries of Europe and the communist parties in the socialist countries,

--Second, to slander actually existing socialism, that is, countries which already have actually created a new society, and especially the Soviet Union, and

--Third, to overthrow all of the proposals jointly developed by European communists and to discard the goals propounded by them in the struggle for the interests of the working class and of all working people, and for peace, democracy and social progress. All of these proposals and goals are opposed by the program essentially leading, not only to continued division of Europe into opposing military blocs but, what is more, to a strengthening of the aggressive bloc of NATO.

"However, it does not take any particular proofs to understand that such an approach does not meet either the interests of peace nor the interests of socialism."

Nevertheless the mass media in the capitalist countries smelled headlines. They spread their characteristic interpretation of the article from NEW TIMES widely. They stirred up a storm about the whole matter. The article was taken as an attack of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the PCE, as a confirmation of the diversional idea of Soviet domination in the communist movement, of everything obviously against the official view of the European communist parties, elaborated at the Berlin Conference, and in spite of the stand of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, expressed by Leonid Brezhnev, speaking at this Conference:

"Each communist party finds its origin in the workers' movement in the country in which it operates. It is primarily responsible for its activity to the working masses of the country whose interests it expresses and whose interests it defends. But this is actually what forms the basis of international solidarity. After all, to use the words of Wladzimierz Lenin, in contradistinction to the irremovable oppositions between the interests of

exploiters, fighting with each other for profits, markets and spheres of influence, there are no such oppositions between the working people of all countries, because their interests and aims are the same. On the other hand it is obvious that the greater the influence enjoyed by the communist party in its country, the greater the contribution which it can make in battling for the joint goals of communists in the international arena.

"It is true that sometimes the question can be heard of whether the proletariat international is still current, or whether it has become an outdated concept. Some people also express the fear that the appeal to strengthen the international bonds joining communists may mean a reactionary aim toward some kind of organizational center.

"These are strange fears. As far as we know no one has proposed the idea of forming such a center. Insofar as the proletariat international is concerned, the so-called solidarity of the working classes, of the communists of every country in the battle for common goals, their solidarity in the struggle of nations for national liberation and social progress, and voluntary cooperation among fraternal parties under conditions of strict observance of the legal equality and independence of each of them, we maintain that such solidarity, the standard-bearers of which have been communists for more than 100 years already, will continue to maintain its great significance to the fullest extent in our times. This solidarity has been and is a powerful and proven weapon of the communist parties and of the workers' movement in general."

All of the opinions which considered the NEW TIMES as a criticism of the strategy and tactics of the PCE, despite the viewpoint expressed by Leonid Brezhnev, induced the editorial board of NEW TIMES to speak again on this entire matter. In an article in No 28, 1977, entitled "This is the Truth," the editorial board writes: "In the article of the weekly NEW TIMES there is not a single word uttered against the activity of any party, including the PCE.

"In the article referred to we expressly emphasized that the strategy and tactics of fraternal parties belong to the sphere of domestic authority of the fraternal parties which determine them individually...In it the concepts and opinions on the subject of foreign policy found in S. Carrillo's book, referring directly to the situation in the world and in the world communist movement, and including the direct attacks on the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, were discussed in it. We particularly emphasized that these do not appear in the official documents of the PCE....

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always taken a firm stand with the PCE in its heroic battle with fascism over the years. At present it is also following a policy of supporting the struggle of communists and of all working people in Spain for democracy, social progress and peace....

"In all of its actions the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always considered the conditions of struggle of the PCE very scrupulously, and will continue to do so. For many years, although Carrillo voiced his anti-Soviet diatribes, no one in the Soviet Union criticized him publicly. The Soviet people recognized the fact that the Franco regime was still ruling in Spain, and that there was still a stubborn battle waging to eliminate the remains of fascism. Only now, when the communist party has been legalized and operates openly, when parliamentary elections have been held in the country and when Carrillo has published his book in a still very hostile spirit, only now has NEW TIMES expressed criticism to Carrillo's statements....

"For many years Santiago Carrillo has been waging a brutal and not at all concealed campaign against the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, not at all considering the fact that during all these years the Soviet Union has waged and is still waging a pitched battle with imperialism, in defense of peace throughout the world, supporting all who are the object of reactionary attacks and likewise supporting Spanish communists. For practically 3 or 4 years already there has been no stopping S. Carrillo from accusing in his addresses the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Soviet communists and Soviet people in general for all of the offenses they have not committed....

"The question arises as to why S. Carrillo can attack the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union for years, while Soviet communists and the organs of the Soviet press cannot come forward in their defense. Scores of times foreign radio stations have broadcast the anti-Soviet addresses of S. Carrillo to the Soviet Union. Obviously the Soviet people cannot remain indifferent to such addresses."

The communists have not concealed and do not conceal the fact that among communist and workers' parties, forming the international communist movement, animated by common ideas and goals, there is an exchange of opinions concerning various matters of Marxist theory and of strategic and tactical ideas aimed at the realization of these common ideas and goals. These discussions are the result of different conditions under which the individual parties must work. The communist and workers' parties elaborate their domestic and foreign policies with complete independence in regard to all of the historical and current circumstances essential for a given party, the circumstances revealed by Marxism-Leninism and confirmed in waging the battle of the working class for justice in social development for over 100 years. Since these affairs and problems are the object of different opinions and evaluations, they are discussed in bilateral and multilateral talks between interested parties in the spirit and atmosphere of proletarian internationalism, solidarity and friendship, open presentation of opinions and in respect for the opinions of partners. This contributes to even greater consolidation of the ranks of the international workers' movement.

The best example of this exchange of opinions and of chances of working out a common standpoint this way was the preparation for the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Berlin and its course and results, to which we have alleged here many times. This Conference may be an example of this cooperation, and is an indisputed achievement of the international workers' movement.

Leonid Brezhnev presented this evaluation of the Conference: "Respect for the opinions of participants, a democratic and proper party atmosphere for discussion, a wide confrontation of the experience of different parties, and dedication of friendly attention to the interests of partners encouraged all of us to proceed toward joint evaluations and conclusions concerning a number of current problems which have tremendous importance today for the nations of Europe and of the entire world. In regard to these matters we were able to produce a serious document based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

This is how it was evaluated by the delegation leaders of two parties which took the initiative in calling this Conference and worked together to prepare it:

Enrico Berlinguer said: "We consider it a very important thing that during the discussions, which prepared for this Conference, it was possible to proceed in valid and proper, in our opinion, formulations referring to relations among our parties....In their speeches or articles comrades from other communist and workers' parties expressed in person or indirectly their critical views regarding our orientation and convictions concerning important aspects of our socialist vision, for example, those associated with pluralism. Although we do not share in these critical opinions, we consider the fact that they were expressed useful. It is even our desire for discussion to develop in the workers' movement on such great problems, obviously in the spirit of friendship and understanding, but at the same time in a very free and open way."

Edward Gierek stated: "We have always considered, and our opinion is unchanged, that the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries and of the capitalist countries, our entire movement, forms a single connected community of ideas and goals, united by proletarian internationalism and the vanguard of progress and peace. We have stated this more than once in joint documents on negotiations in our movement, and we confirm the practice of activity with solidarity. Clear new evidence of this is our current Conference."

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POLAND

PZPR ROLE IN ELIMINATING MISMANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL PROPERTY DISCUSSED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 10, Oct 77 pp 80-87

[Article by Wladyslaw Kata]

[Text] The consistent implementation of the socioeconomic strategy outlined at the sixth congress and further developed by the decisions of our party's seventh congress has wrought permanent changes in the Polish national scene and in all regions of the country. The dynamic growth of the material and technological infrastructure testifies eloquently to the achievements of the past 6 years. For example, the value of fixed industrial assets in the metropolitan Warsaw Voivodship, as was similarly the case throughout the entire country, increased by nearly 70 percent. At the same time, the technical standards of these assets also increased dramatically. Obsolete facilities were substantially modernized, and many new and advanced facilities were also built.

The great majority of all fixed assets (80 percent) are now categorized as socialist property, being held in general public or cooperative ownership. Consequently, at the present time these two property ownership categories constitute the basis of socialist expanded reproduction in Poland, and, as a result, they also constitute the basis for the implementation of the social goals set forth in the resolution of the Seventh PZPR Congress. The task calling for the efficient and optimal utilization of social resources produced through the combined efforts of the working people in the general public interest and for the respect and protection of social property thus has become the order of the day and has been thrust into a position of the utmost priority. This is a question of seeing to it that the assets which are placed at the disposal of individual work crews and collectives and that the costs which were incurred in the past which will be incurred in the future to promote the development of the productive forces will produce benefits as quickly as possible and on as broad a scale as possible precisely by means of a systematic increase in the national wealth and the standard of living of the working people.

At this point it should be noted that these problems are nothing new. These are issues in which the party has always had an abiding interest. Consequently, the public's attitude toward social property has undergone a systematic change. This is manifested, among other things, by the ever greater

activism and dedication on the part of workers in terms of seeking out untapped productive resources and in terms of raising the overall level of economic efficiency. This is also borne out by the debates that have taken place at conferences and meetings of factory work crews, during which it happens fairly often that both PZPR members and workers who are non-party members will bring to light and criticize instances of wastefulness, inefficiency, and carelessness caused by the improper performance of official duties and other similar problems. This undoubtedly bears witness to the fact that disrespect for the fruits of collective labor, which in turn diminishes the social usefulness of that labor, simply upsets and angers those people who are conscientious and reliable in the performance of their civic and work duties and gives rise to expressions of creative criticism.

The point is that we still have to contend with the negative circumstances referred to above. Not everyone is concerned to the same degree about this optimal utilization of the results of the hard work and creative thinking of society at large. Not everyone has an equally well developed sense of social responsibility for the degree of efficiency that is achieved in the management of resources produced through common efforts or a sense of concern for social property. This indicates that current ideological and educational work aimed at fostering and perpetuating a desirable attitude toward socially owned property has not always and everywhere been effective.

To whatever extent in earlier development stages, when socially owned property accounted for a smaller share of our total national resources, the consequences of the improper use of economic resources were not so clearly delineated, today, given the overall complexity of production processes and the diversity of interrelationships between business enterprises, any manifestation of careless work in the socialized sector of the economy entails consequences that have an impact not only at the level of a given department or enterprise, but also at the level of entire industries, branches, and, not infrequently, the entire economy. This happens because, if the consequences of slackness crop up in a particular component of the production process--even in one that is seemingly of lesser importance--, they can frustrate the efforts of associated producers and disrupt an entire larger sector of economic activity. This now has an incomparably stronger impact on the country's rate of socioeconomic growth than at any other time in the past.

These reasons alone make it categorically imperative that we should search for more effective methods and means to eradicate manifestations of inefficiency and wastefulness from our social life and to eliminate the root causes of these obstacles to growth. This imperative is also dictated by the fact that these phenomena stand in flagrant contradiction to the fundamental principles of socialist morality.

To this end, favorable conditions are being created by the party's policies, which are consistent with the expectations and vital interests of the working people and responsive to their needs and aspirations. Therefore, everything that is done to promote their implementation does meet with and will continue to meet with public approval, including the struggle to overcome the problems referred to here, problems which only serve to add to the costs of economic growth and social progress.

So, in light of these conclusions, what kinds of action should be taken and what kinds of tools should be employed to curtail and eliminate these problems?

Without launching into a detailed analysis of the problem, one might advance the hypothesis that a close interdependence exists between economic efficiency and respect for social property. Concern for social property is the psychological basis and premise of efficient management. And so, within the overall context of the political and organizational activities of the party and other public-opinion-molding institutions, high priority should be assigned to work that is done on a day-to-day basis to encourage the development of a proper attitude toward socially owned property. There are many ways to do this. There is no way for us to discuss all of them and make recommendations in a single article. For this reason, let us cite just a few examples which can be used to point the way for future inquiries.

In large population centers inhabited by members of the industrial working class performance results in the management of social property are on the whole good. At the same time, it is in this milieu that the Leninist dictum calling for the involvement of workers in the management of the production process and their participation in the management of entire plants is being put into practice on a broad scale. Is this a mere coincidence?

Experience tells us that a cause and effect dependency does exist in this regard. The active participation of workers in management gives broader horizons to the interests of the individual and lays the groundwork for a more complete understanding of the unbreakable bonds between self-interest and the results of the work performed by collectives and by society as a whole. And, as a result, this is reflected in attitudes toward social property, and moral incentives are reinforced. However, there are three conditions that must be met if worker participation in management is to fulfill this function.

First, it will fulfill its intended role as long as it is not reduced to being merely a matter of stating opinions and approving draft plans or even of evaluating the implementation of such plans, rather it must also be concerned with problems pertaining to the utilization of production capacities and the management of socially owned resources in the plant.

Second, it will fulfill its intended role as long as the plant administration encourages this kind of activity and facilitates it by, for example, providing open access to the materials and reports that are essential for the drawing up of evaluations and by briefing workers on the current status of issues and problems facing a given enterprise. As long as this is followed up by a consistent effort to act upon those demands and criticisms that are acknowledged as being appropriate, thereby eliminating deficiencies and shortcomings. The point here is that the workers who become involved in the affairs of a given enterprise want to have a meaningful say in matters related to the efficiency of the operations of that plant or institution, and they expect that what they have to say should produce specific results.

And, finally, as the third precondition, it is essential that there be a radical change in the attitude of management personnel toward criticism and public oversight. On no account can this form of socialist democracy be regarded as being anything other than a basic expression of concern for the common good on the part of those voicing critical opinions. Sometimes, however, criticism is interpreted as being an attack directed against a specific individual, even though the intent of the critic is to call attention to a festering problem, to suggest a reasonable solution to a problem, and so on. At best, the consequences of this attitude take the form of a deterioration in the public mood and interpersonal relations. Wherever there is a failure to surmount this shortcoming one cannot look forward to the advancement of co-management, nor can it be expected that there will be any genuine participation of workers in the conduct of plant business affairs. If this is to come about, management must learn how to hear out critical opinions, react to them properly, and make appropriate use of them in its everyday activities.

Indeed, it is the function of plant party organizations to be aware of these conditions and, hence, to scrupulously fulfill their administrative responsibilities vis-a-vis worker collectives as co-managers of a given plant, to work consistently for the realization of the recommendations and demands submitted by plant workers, and to keep the workers continuously informed about the manner in which their proposals are being handled. It is by relying on this advice that properly functioning PZPR plant committees draw up alternative enterprise action plans, in which directives issued by management units are coordinated with initiatives coming from below.

This kind of social activity in the management sphere undoubtedly confronts the workers with an administrative responsibility for the establishment of conditions that are conducive to the efficient and rational management of social property, and, at the same time, it strengthens the workers' sense of responsibility for the entire range of activities engaged in by a given plant or enterprise, which is in fact expressed by the aforementioned care and concern for the tools and instruments of labor placed at the disposal of plant work crews.

A wisely managed educational program designed to give plant personnel an understanding of economic issues plays an important role in fostering a positive attitude among workers toward social property. This is not just a question of developing institutional forms of worker education, even though they too often play a useful role in this regard. What we have in mind here are the various ways in which it might be possible to give workers a clearer understanding of fundamental economic laws, such as those that have to do with the materials-intensiveness of production and its costs, the dependence of wage levels on labor productivity, and so on. In other words, this is a question of seeing to it that under a variety of circumstances the worker will witness the confirmation of the principle which holds that management efficiency, concern for social property, and the rational utilization of that property serve to enlarge the material wealth of both the worker's own

plant and of the nation as a whole, in addition to contributing to an improvement in the living conditions of each individual worker. In economic education programs stronger emphasis should be placed on making workers more familiar with business accounting practices. Briefly stated, this is a question of seeing to it that every worker, regardless of the position which he may occupy in the plant's social hierarchy, realizes how much the economy and he personally stand to lose whenever social property is utilized in a wasteful manner.

In light of cursory observations it emerges that at the present time these educational programs, as defined above, are not always conducted in a proper manner. These matters are often discussed using the language of academic textbooks and, even then, only during the course of classroom lectures and talks. And numerous examples indicate that these programs could be very effective if they would examine problems in light of concrete situations, look for the causes and origins of these problems, and draw appropriate practical conclusions. Generally speaking, most sociopolitical aktivs in industrial plants agree that these kinds of educational methods are indeed effective. It is possible to do a good job in working with people in this way only when and if sound substantive preparations are backed up by a respectful attitude toward social property, criticisms and suggestions, and management.

It is nevertheless true that the great majority of party members and also a large number of non-party members do display these skills and attributes. However, not all of them display an understanding of the need to carry on educational and agitation work on an individual basis. True, some good and instructive examples of this kind of work are to be found, but they are decidedly too few in number.

From this standpoint it is also possible to level criticism at the educational work of many foremen and brigade leaders. The fact remains that among their official responsibilities they are called upon to play an active role in shaping the attitudes of their coworkers. Obviously, this criticism does not apply to all of them. By the same token, in some factories one all too often encounters foremen who are not easily persuaded to take an innovative approach to initiating discussions with their subordinate workers precisely on such subjects as efficiency in the management of social property, showing respect for the fruits of human labor, and so on. Private conversations with some of these foremen indicate that the avoidance of educational tasks often is not the result of an unwillingness to engage in this kind of work per se, but the result of personal shortcomings and ineptitude when it comes to initiating a partnerlike and at the same time educational dialogue with subordinates on so-called "sensitive" subjects.

Among the personally-oriented methods of educational work greater attention should be paid to the many different ways of bestowing honors on people and giving them a sense of moral satisfaction for their efficient management practices, their proper attitude toward social property, and their disclosures

of shortcomings in connection with the management and protection of social property. In this way we can foster desirable tendencies and simultaneously give open expression to our disapproval of negative phenomena and perpetuate a properly conceived sense of worker solidarity and self-respect.

In earlier presentations references have been made to such incidents as property theft, vandalism, and disorderly behavior. These are symptoms of social pathology and cannot be discussed on the same level as, for example, the careless performance of official duties. By the same token, both the former and the latter diminish the effectiveness of the costs that are borne by society for the purpose of promoting the country's socioeconomic development. On the other hand, there are various causes or psychological determinants that give rise to these phenomena. The first category of behavior is on the whole an extreme manifestation of ill will and malice, while the second is most often a product of an underdeveloped sense of civic responsibility for the management of socially owned assets and an underdeveloped sense of respect for social property. The above distinction appears to be necessary, as it makes it possible to make a more suitable choice of methods for eliminating and surmounting these socially and economically negative phenomena by taking into account these psychological determinants and motivations.

In actual practice it is an accepted principle that the struggle against the problems of vandalism and pilferage, i.e., against the most glaring instances of violations of socialist law and order, falls within the official jurisdiction of organs of law enforcement and the administration of justice. However, this does not mean that basic party components and units should not take part in preventive actions. Quite to the contrary, it is in fact imperative that the work of professional services be backed up by organizational and political-educational programs. This is due to the fact that, in spite of a downward trend, every fifth crime that is committed in this country still involves infringements against social property. It turns out that fraudulent practices and abuses occur most often under conditions marked by improper work organization and the careless performance of official duties by internal supervisory and control bodies. These shortcomings give rise to chaos and feelings of helplessness, which are in turn exploited by various types of con men and criminals.

The common denominator of the known instances of these harmful practices is the fact that they could have been avoided or nipped in the bud by means of a straightforward control action and by making a resolute response to their appearance. Meanwhile, however, the supervisory and control apparatus does not always display as much responsibility as it should in looking after the social property placed under its care. Control actions performed in a superficial and bureaucratic manner are not rare. It also happens that major abuses are concealed behind tolerated and seemingly minor irregularities or improprieties. The fairness of this assessment is also borne out by the fact that most cases of property theft, for example, are not brought to light until they have been detected by external control or law enforcement organs. It is necessary, then, to establish and perpetuate a social environment in which every manifestation of these negative phenomena is censured and condemned.

Understanding the significance of these problems as they affect the entire range of enterprise activities and performance, many party units and organizations at the plant level have come to the proper conclusion that they should become more actively involved in the struggle against these phenomena, primarily in terms of prevention and the eradication of the conditions that facilitate the commission of crimes. On several occasions over the past few years PZPR plant committees in certain key industrial plants in the metropolitan Warsaw Voivodship have appointed working groups which have drawn up studies on how to calculate the consumption of fabricated materials, raw materials, and fuels, the utilization of transportation vehicles, and the performance rating of services dedicated to internal control and the protection of factory property. As a result, many useful changes have been made in the systems that govern the making of these calculations and the performance and functioning of control and property protection services. Party organizations are also paying more attention to the personnel policies followed in these services, which is evidenced, among other things, by the channeling of party activists into these services and by the systematic analysis of staff levels of control and property protection components. However, especially noteworthy are the long-range political and educational programs which are aimed at raising the level of ideological commitment and the sense of social responsibility of workers in the internal control and plant property protection apparatuses. The work of party components, groups, and branch organizations active in these services has been bolstered and stepped up. The canvassing of party members belonging to this work group has also been stepped up, and this has made it possible to exercise more effective control over the standards and quality of work performed by these services.

All in all, it can be said that many party organizations have become firmly convinced that internal control and property protection services, even though they do not belong to that category of workers who are directly involved in the production process, still have a very important role to play in plant operations and that, as a result, party organizations must make an intensive effort to guide the work of these services. A certain reluctance on the part of some plant party organizations to concern themselves with these matters has been overcome. It would seem that there has been a permanent change in attitude toward the internal control apparatus and property protection services. As a result, it can now be said that there has been a dramatic improvement in the way they conduct their activities in a number of key industrial plants, e.g., in the Automobiles Factory, Polish Optical Plants, the Swierczewski Precision Products Plant, and the Nowotki Mechanical Engineering Works, in which party organizations raised the quality of their work with these services to an especially high level.

In the present situation the popularization in all institutions of the methods that have been developed to guide party work with these services has become an issue of cardinal importance, primarily in terms of transferring the knowledge that has been gained in this area to party organizations in the trade and services, transportation, and municipal economy sectors, i.e., everywhere where progress toward the elimination of dishonest practices has

been unsatisfactory and where the public sector of the economy continues to suffer major losses on this account. The dimensions of this problem are so great that its underestimation cannot be tolerated. It is estimated, for example, that the losses incurred every year in the metropolitan Warsaw Voivodship due to thefts of social property or senseless vandalism amount to nearly Z 65 million. Based on press accounts alone, it is believed that the acuteness of this problem is just as great in other regions of the country.

It is also essential that plant party components and units work more closely with external control organs. This is because, on the one hand, the findings of professional control organs are an excellent and credible source of information for party components concerning deficiencies and shortcomings in the management of social property, while, on the other hand, the evaluations of party organizations concerning management practices in the areas that are being studied by control organs can make it easier for these organs to channel their efforts in the right directions. All of this may contribute to the consolidation of efforts aimed at eliminating the causes of inefficient management, wastefulness, and certain other unfavorable phenomena in this area.

The organizational and substantive principles governing this kind of collaboration have already been determined in some plants. Among other things, the findings of control actions conducted by specialized external control organs are being evaluated at meetings of party plant committees and also, where warranted, at meetings of basic party organizations. The leading officials of party organizations are actively participating in post-control conferences, analyzing the recommendations of control organs, and evaluating their implementation on a continuous basis. PZPR plant committees are also examining the findings of control investigations as they relate to the party [political] responsibility of party members for the irregularities that are brought to light.

An initiative was recently launched to establish social control teams in industrial plants. The Warsaw PZPR Committee lent its political and organizational support to this initiative. These teams are to be made up of party and non-party activists, whose task it will be to conduct control investigations into the management of social property under the expert supervision of professional control organs. The political guidance of their activities will be handled by the plant units and basic components of our party. In our opinion this will make it possible step up efforts aimed at the early detection and effective counteraction of organized and unorganized forms of property theft, inadequate property protection measures, slackness, and wastefulness.

Obviously, it would be a gross and entirely unjustified oversimplification to look upon work aimed at improving the quality of management and fostering a proper attitude toward social property as being solely a matter of engaging in political and organizational activities. These are very complex problems, and so action confined to a single area generally does not produce satisfactory results. Ideological-educational and organizational work can

be a big help if, in conjunction with this, an effort is made to gear up effective economic mechanisms and to improve the system of management and work organizations. A positive example of this is the present system of large economic organizations, under which an attempt has been made to provide for an optimal blend of the interests of society as a whole, collectives of enterprises, and individual workers in the drive to achieve optimal economic results and to re-orient the entire economy mainly in favor of promoting intensive economic growth factors. This is related to the need to expand the autonomy of the basic components of the self-financing system and to make available to them the essential means that are required in order to achieve this autonomy, including, above all, long-range, normative indicators governing the establishment of wage funds, material incentive funds, and other funds. In other words, under the system of large economic organizations work collectives and their individual members are acutely aware of the economic consequences of efficient management. Therefore, it is to be expected that workers will take an economically more responsible approach to the utilization of the tools and instruments of labor placed at their disposal.

The increasingly widespread adoption of the new self-financing system by enterprises and the greater diversity of the forms and methods of ideological and educational work are laying the groundwork for the systematic curtailment of this netherworld of negative phenomena in the realm of social property management. By the same token, speaking in the most general of terms, this will also contribute to the realization of the party's policies as set forth in its development plans.

11813
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POLAND

CIVIL DEFENSE EVACUATION PLANNING DISCUSSED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 7, Jul 77 pp 6-9

[Article by Maj Dr Eng Jozef Wyrwa, member of the Military Technical Academy:
"Transportation Tasks for Dispersal of Civilian Population of Large Cities"]

[Text] Air strikes on the enemy rear areas play a great role in the conduct of war. Especially in the last thirty years, as the result of the invention and tempestuous development of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery means, the danger of destruction of the country has risen dramatically.

Large cities will be among the main targets of air strikes inasmuch as they are in most cases centers of industry, administration and culture and, above all, great concentrations of population. This is the reason such a great importance is attached to the subject of protection of population under the conditions of modern war. Dispersal of population from the threatened cities is considered to be one of the basic methods of protecting the population.

The density of population in a country is always uneven. There are areas more and less densely populated but in large cities the density of population per unit is several times or several dozen times greater than even the national average. In view of the characteristics of the weapons of mass destruction, such a density exposes the population of great cities to a great danger. This is why such an importance is attached to the dispersal.

The dispersal of population is a difficult and complex undertaking, requiring accomplishment of several tasks of the transportation engineering type, although its essence (figure 1) is in general universally understood both in the popular and in the professional sense. The term "dispersal" is always understood to mean spreading of a certain mass (quantity) over a much larger area than the area over which it was located previously. That is, it is a decrease of unit density at the cost of a proportional increase of area.

The character and extent of transportation tasks related to dispersal are influenced by, among other things, the location of the area to which it is planned to transport the population from the city. The areas (zones) of population dispersal (their shape, size and location) will depend on many factors. The most important among these factors are the number of city

inhabitants, the location of neighboring large cities, the location of low population density areas, the location and size of natural obstacles such as rivers, the condition of transportation network etc. From this point of view a few types of dispersal can be specified for illustration: radial-circular, sectional, satellite etc. Dispersal of the radial-circular type (figure 2) seems to be the most favorable from the transportation requirements point of view. Dispersal of the sectional type (figure 3) does not differ basically from the preceding one, it is only a more complicated case in view of the division of the city into sections and consequently limiting the freedom to plan the movements and the implementation of the dispersal transportation tasks. For transportation reasons, the satellite dispersal type (figure 4) requires the greatest effort to implement it properly and efficiently.

The dispersal of population from large cities plays an enormous role from the point of view of protection and psychology (feeling of safety) of the national populace. It has also a far from trifling impact on the enemy potential decisions because a depopulated city may constitute an "uneconomical" target for strike. These factors rate attention by any standards and they place the dispersal problems among the most important tasks in the Civil Defense system.

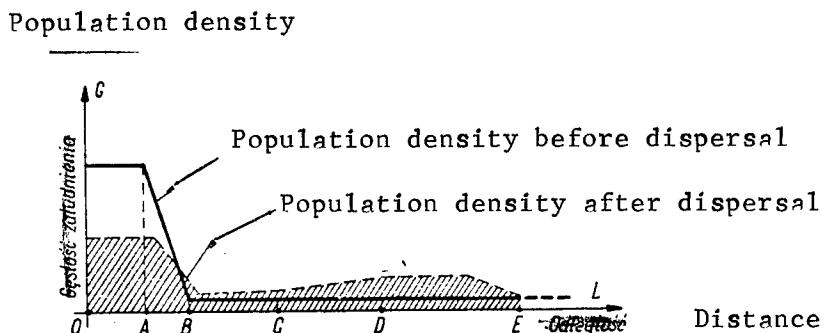


Figure 1. The concept of population dispersal from a city.
 0 - the center of the city, OA - central city, AB - peripheral sections and suburbs, C, D, E - landmarks of the dispersal zone, E - limit of the dispersal zone.

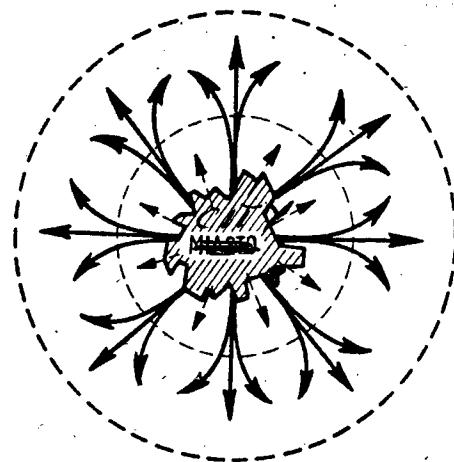


Figure 2. Diagram of the radial-circular dispersal type

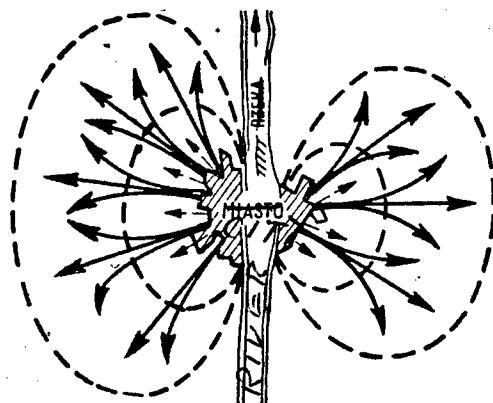


Figure 3. Diagram of the sectional dispersal type

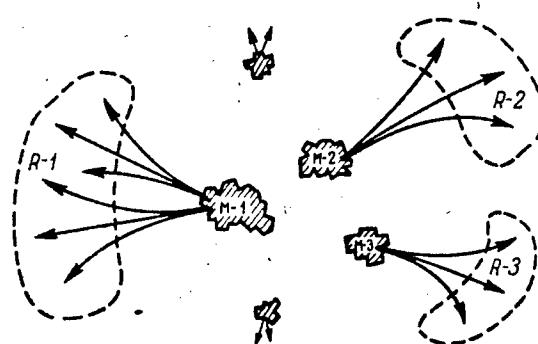


Figure 4. Diagram of the satellite dispersal type

The Main Transportation Tasks for Dispersal

The very idea of dispersal is associated with relocation, transportation and all of their attributes. Thus, dispersal of city population depends basically and predominantly on the properly organized and functioning transportation (broadly defined).

In the mass of all elements related to assuring transportation for dispersal, a few main tasks dominating the whole problem can be selected. The general tasks are as follows:

- continuing survey and data gathering activity providing up-to-date data regarding the condition of the city population, the number of inhabitants who are subject to dispersal and their location in the city, the engineering data of the existing road network, the quantity and condition of road equipment, the size and carrying capacity of broadly defined transportation base, the average population density of potential dispersal areas, the technical and support resources ensuring the population transportation process, the forecast of self-initiated dispersal (individual) etc.
- training, drills and staff games permitting coordination of the teams designated to plan, organize and implement the dispersal;
- organizing and conducting practical training (of single elements, multi-elemental or systemwide) with participation of the population which leads to a continuing improvement of the evacuation efficiency;
- continuing requirement analysis in the area of adaptability of the existing road network and cooperation with the proper planning and implementing institutions in order to coordinate the execution of tasks;
- definition and justification of requirements for new road improvements indispensable for greater efficiency of the possible evacuation of the population;
- analysis and planning for the location of the mobile type transportation items: quantity, type, storage mode and the extent and the program of training leading to the proper utilization of the equipment which is available for these needs.

The above presented general tasks lead to the following main specific tasks:

- determination of the area and the zones of population dispersal;
- designation of the loading and unloading points and possibly of the staging points;
- designation of the required number (fulfilling the defined engineering and capability specifications) evacuation routes;
- preparation and maintenance for a given period of time of means to cross water obstacles;
- construction of bridges, overpasses and other structures from prefabricated elements in the locations where they are necessary;
- establishment along the evacuation routes of services, such as: security, towing and repair, first aid and medical, traffic control, spare transportation means, etc.
- computation of the quantity of transportation means required for efficient dispersal taking under consideration the reserve to make up for possible losses;
- establishment of repair and maintenance service for the transportation means;

--planning and proper preparation of back-up routes for the evacuation of population including all the transportation tasks needed in case of their possible use.

Determination of Transportation Parameters

The transportation tasks related to population dispersal are obviously extensive. Some of them have computational character and their determination on the basis of a rule of thumb or intuition may lead to significant errors and, consequently, to disturbances in functioning of the whole evacuation mechanism.

In this section of the paper, a proposed methodology to determine the more significant parameters which are necessary to plan the total effort of city dispersal is submitted.

The required city population dispersal area (the sum of receiving zones):

$$P_r = \frac{M_r \times W_p}{g_k \times g_p} \quad \text{e.g. in km}^2 \quad (1)$$

Where:

P_r = computed dispersal area

M_r = number of persons subject to dispersal from the city

g_k = upper limit of the average population density of receiving area

g_p = average population density prior to the influx of persons being dispersed

W_p 1.0 = acceleration factor

($W_p = 1.10 + 1.15$)

The required number of loading points in the city:

$$N_{pr} = \frac{M_r \times C_z}{G \times p \times W_t} \quad (2)$$

Where:

N_{pr} = computed number of required loading points

M_r = number of persons subject to dispersal from the city

C_z = time to load persons aboard the standard transportation conveyance*

G = total time available to implement the dispersal

p = number of persons aboard the standard transportation conveyance

W_t = transportation conveyance utilization factor ($W_t = 0.9 \pm 0.8$)

* Standard transportation conveyance is defined as the transportation conveyance assumed for the discussion. It depends mostly on the local availability. The computation must be made for each type of transportation conveyance if they differ with respect to capacity, loading time, speed of movement, etc.

Main parameters of individual loading points:

- number of transportation conveyances at a loading point

$$S_1 = \frac{T_1}{C_z} \quad \text{when } C_z > C_w \quad *$$

$$\text{or } S_1 = \frac{T_1}{C_w} \quad \text{when } C_w > C_z \quad * \quad (3)$$

Where:

$$T_1 = C_z + C_w = \frac{2L}{V_{sr}} \quad \text{for } W = 1.0 \quad (4)$$

- number of persons dispersed (M_1) transported out of the city through one loading point

$$M_1 = \frac{G}{T_1} \times S_1 \times p \times W_t \quad (5)$$

Where:

S_1 = required number of standard transportation conveyances

T_1 = time of one standard transportation conveyance turn around (cycle)

C_z = time of unloading a standard transportation conveyance

L = given distance over which persons are transported (from a loading point to an unloading point)

V_{sr} = average movement speed of standard transportation conveyance

W_o = confidence factor ($W_o = 1.0 : 1.15$)

C_z , G , p , W_t - as in (2)

In the case of a finite number of standard transportation conveyances, the average distance (L') at which the population can be transported out is defined by the following expressions:

$$L' = \frac{V_{sr}}{2} \times \left(\frac{S_1 \times C_z}{W_o} - C \right) \quad \text{for } C_z > C_w \quad * \quad (6)$$

$$L' = \frac{V}{2} \times \left(\frac{S_1 \times C_w}{W_o} - C \right) \quad \text{for } C_w > C_z \quad * \quad (7)$$

Where all notations are the same as in (2) and (5).

* [Translator's note: It appears that an inequality sign is missing.
Probably, it should be $C_z > C_w$ and $C_w > C_z$]

Expressions (1) and (7) are the basis for deriving other data required for the dispersal planning process. The use of the term "standard transportation conveyance" greatly simplifies the computations which in this form are sufficient for practical use, especially for training exercises.

Final Remarks and Conclusions

The matters discussed here do not exhaust the dispersal problems, they merely highlight them. It would take much more space to describe them fully.

The proposed computational formulae may constitute a contribution to the effort to develop a complete methodology for the dispersal planning data (parameter) calculations. Later on, a set of tables, graphs and nomograms could be developed to provide an easy display of the necessary information. Such sets of quick reference data are simply indispensable in view of the large number of factors impacting the results of planning. Additionally, these factors are changeable in time and space (population number, structure and location; continuous growth of cities and transportation network; appearance of new urban centers; continuous change of population density in various regions of the country etc.) which qualifies the process of data transformation for planning of transportation tasks for the application of electronic computational techniques.

The comprehensive and exhaustive knowledge and easy access to the actual data permit proper planning, including consideration of variants, of the dispersal transportation tasks not only within the framework of all kinds of exercises, games and scenarios but also in case of a sudden necessity for real evacuation.

Despite the fact that the dispersal transportation tasks were presented here in a sketchy manner and the aspect of so-called self-initiated dispersal was not considered, it appears that the general outlay of the problem was drawn clearly. The impact on the dispersal process of such aspects as use of private conveyances, airlift, watercraft etc. was not considered but those may be the subject of another publication.

8801
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POLAND

WORKER ATTITUDES, VIEWS ON PRODUCTIVITY EXAMINED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 22-23 Oct 77 p 4

[Article by Ewa Luszczuk: "The Most Sensitive Barometer"]

[Text] "The basic criterion for an evaluation of attitudes is the agreement of words and deeds. This is not a declaratory agreement but an agreement realized everyday in one's work and personal life. In every collective and in every environment it must be a binding principle that everyone works and that responsibility is exacted and attitudes are evaluated justly" (from the Political Bureau's report delivered by Edward Gierek at the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee).

Most Poles link their basic life's plans with work. The degree of moral and material satisfaction obtained from work projects onto their feelings and is reflected in all spheres of life.

Most Poles are patriots. They want to know how Poland is developing and how its productive potential, its level of culture and knowledge, and its significance are rising in the eyes of the world. Most Poles also want to perceive around themselves every day steady improvement, rapid elimination of those shortcomings inherited from history, and actions aimed at quickly overcoming difficulties which are turning up at present.

Most Poles are aware that honest, rational work in all jobs, wise and responsible decisions, and just evaluations are the only real way to insure prosperity for Poland and for themselves. And they approve wholeheartedly of all the programs and plans which state the issue in this way and which were developed directly from the resolutions of the Sixth and Seventh party congresses.

The statements quoted here are current opinions, but they actually have been declared by the majority of Poles on different occasions, both official and private. On the basis of these opinions one could formulate a thesis concerning the great, patriotic, civic socialist consciousness of our entire society and its fully formed, socially valid and acceptable attitudes. However, and this probably should not be argued for very long, the predicated view is not always the view which is implemented.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that one of the most sensitive barometers indicating the actual attitudes of particular people, collectives, and whole environments is their attitude towards work. In other words, answers to the questions "What sort of people are we really?" and "What are we capable of doing?" can be found in the answer to the question "How do we really work?"

Despite all appearances, the answer is neither simple nor unambiguous. According to Zbigniew Bajka's research, conducted with a representative group of society and concerning the quality of work, among other things, 52 percent of those polled evaluate work in a neighboring setting as very good or good, 41 percent find it mediocre, 5 percent find it bad or pretty bad, and 2 percent have not formed an opinion on this subject.

The appraisals cited here enable us to state that the opinion which we ourselves give of work in our own and neighboring settings is generally positive.

But how does this appraisal relate to the opinions uttered outside the factory, in the most diverse situations of everyday life, situations in which we act as customers, applicants, patients, so-called recipients of services? Society's opinions on the quality of work which have been gathered in precisely these situations certainly have differed markedly from those presented above. What, then, are the sources of this discord?

Determining this question precisely would surely be a gratifying subject for sociological and psychological research. As a working hypothesis, we can grant that the main cause of the divergence of the evaluations of one's own and others' work lies in the adoption of an indulgent standard for oneself and of a stricter one for others. And the reasons why the two standards function should be sought not only in man's imperfection.

Let us remember that on all occasions of plant or sector holidays, every work force is perfect and every enterprise attains illustrious results. Adding up these festive opinions has led, therefore, to the statement that as workers we are all perfect, and gallant at the least.

Is this absurd? Of course! And it would not make sense to consider these occasional polite compliments if not for the fact that a similar tone has been imparted to too many production meetings and conferences, KSRs [Workers' Self-Government Conferences], etc. It happens that the basic difference between a "gala" and, in principle, a solid analysis comes down to filling up the congratulatory letter with the words "under our difficult conditions, in the face of our objective difficulties." And progress or improvement is safeguarded by various "ifs," which shift responsibility downward, upward, or sideways depending upon the level at which the thing was done, and, at any rate, the farthest possible from one's own backyard. An exaggeration? Unfortunately, not at all.

"For it frequently happens that deficiencies in the work of others are criticized readily and many times excessively, while one's own errors and shortcomings are easily condoned" (from the Political Bureau's report at the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee)

What, then, hampers authentically good work, work which cannot only be embodied in a report which brings glory to an enterprise but which will bring authentic progress in satisfying social needs? In answer to this question, leaders of economic or administrative units most frequently mention troubles with raw materials and other materials, troubles with cooperating partners, a clearing system used by some enterprises which is not suited to today's level of economic development, sometimes several administrative regulations, and always--problems with fluctuation and a lack of qualifications or discipline among the labor force.

No reservations arise concerning the truthfulness of these utterances in general. We surely do not have an excess of raw materials and other materials. The conclusion is that we must manage them carefully and wisely. On whom should this demand be made? By any chance should it be made on those who complain of shortages of materials?

Certainly the system of cooperation links should be improved, and isn't it possible to seek new solutions, new incentives which have a bearing on the improvement of the situation? There is agreement also on the need for changes in some clearing methods (if only in the clearing method employed in the construction of the famous valuable processing index). But these very problems were discussed at the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, too. Both the need for defined improvements and the possibilities of introducing them were pointed out.

Other regulations also can be improved upon, in the interest both of the economy and of society. Much can be changed for the better in the very system of the management and functioning of the economy.

The question of the labor forces remains, then. Is this really a problem that is not to be dealt with? With full awareness of what we are doing, let us omit the known idlers, loafers, rascals, and passive individuals. What is the situation with the overwhelming majority?

Once more I am falling back upon the already cited results of Z. Bajka's research. Now, in the opinion of this representative group of our society, of the 10 factors determining the quality of work, the following interfere the most with solid work performance:

- incompetent organization of work and of work management (58 percent of those polled);
- inappropriate interpersonal relations (53 percent of those polled); and
- inadequate remuneration for work (46 percent of those polled). One observation should be made here: inadequate remuneration is not the same as improperly low personal remuneration but simply expresses a view regarding equitable or inequitable payment for work in general. For, in general, only some of those polled were dissatisfied with their wages.

In light of these opinions, we should probably correct the still widespread view that material incentives are supposedly the sole effective means for improving the quality of work. After all, life itself also corrects this view. In how many enterprises have there been pronounced wage increases, and the work efficiency curve and the quality of products have not even budged.

But let us return to the work-impeding factors at the very top of the list, that is, poor organization of work and inappropriate interpersonal relations. It has been known for years that these problems represent the Achilles' heel of many an enterprise. For years, theoreticians of work organization, sociologists, and psychologists have indicated these factors as the source of huge reserves. The utterances of the employees themselves only confirm this thesis. And they constitute outright an alarm to eliminate the most serious of the impediments to good work as soon as possible.

This is one of the most urgent tasks both for the leaders of economic units and for all political and social plant organizations, and more than that--it is an outright, binding recommendation formulated by the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee.

"In particular, the organization, discipline, and culture of work demand decided improvement. In the entire development of our economy to date, the growth of work efficiency has been determined to the greatest extent by the growth of technical equipment and to the least extent by the increase in work quality and the improvement of the organization of work" (from the Political Bureau's report at the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee).

Let us return to our starting point, to the statements showing that the majority of our society wants to do good work, and that these desires are being shattered most often not so much by strictly material factors as by the factors pointed out here--poor organization of work and inappropriate interpersonal relations. And already here we can come to some concrete conclusions.

It is well-known that, in addition to still other factors, steady and systematic supervision serves the cause of efficient actions splendidly. Theoreticians of work organization and related fields plainly consider the supervision of performance a key link in the efficient functioning of work. They point to the direct connection between the quality of control, the correctness of a decision, and the effectiveness of an action.

Therefore, we should systematically and honestly supervise the implementation of adopted programs, exact responsibility, and squarely settle accounts. Who ought to do this? The answer is simple. In our political structure the duties and privileges of supervisors fall to everyone--to work forces, to collectives, and especially to political and social organizations and to all self-government organs.

The PZPR election campaign is in progress, and the ZSMP [Polish Socialist Youth Union] election campaign is underway. It is hard to find better, more favorable occasions to compare this declaration with the actual accomplishments, to honestly evaluate attitudes through the prism of attitudes towards work, to accurately rate the weak links in the daily functioning of organizations and establishments, and to set methods and dates for improvement and dates for subsequent analyses.

The recently concluded Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, devoted precisely to the evaluation of the course of the socioeconomic maneuver, also obliges us to undertake these actions in accordance with the principles which I allowed myself to use as the mottoes for the present article.

8729
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POLAND

BOOK DISCUSSES FRG FOREIGN POLICY GOALS

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish 30 Sep 77 p 28

[Book review by Marian Podkowinski]

[Text] I agree with Julian Bartosz, when in his new work "The Mythology of Roundabout Ways" he attempts to define the "Deutschlandpolitik [German Policy] of Willy Brandt as a doctrine defining the means and goals leading to the reunification of Germany "in peace and freedom."

"Deutschlandpolitik" belongs to those terms like "Berufsverbot" [work ban] or "Tendenzwende" (the change of policy trends), which entered the dictionary of political terminology like "Hassliebe," [love-hate] "Lustmord" [sex murder] or "Zwischenruf" [heckle] did in a different context. All attempts at a literal translation failed. Deutschlandpolitik is simply policy aiming toward the reunification of Germany, even if this would have to be done in roundabout ways over a long period of time. This is in keeping with the assumption that years are only counted in the life of a man but not of nations.

Bartosz, who belongs to those polyhistorians who study the historical aspects of combined international relations and is a journalist who penetrates inscrutable paths to European trails wherever they touch upon the "German problem," states in the conclusion of his hypothesis that the Deutschlandpolitik of Willy Brandt is an attempt to realize a new formula of unity for the German people living in two countries.... "The German nation is and will continue to be" writes Bartosz, "for Brandt an historic reality and expression of political will."

Bartosz is correct when he states that Brandt's eastern policy, which constitutes a new chapter in the postwar history of the national policy of West Germany, is nothing more than a preparation for the undertaking the initiatives on the central section of that which is defined as "general German politics." We add on our own that Brandt's doctrine undertaken in this way is more refined than the Hallstein doctrine, whose provocative character was unacceptable even for the western allies of Bonn. The mistake in the old Adenauer conceptions was based on the fact that he believed that his formula--accepted by the United States during the cold war or a policy from a position of power--would put Bonn in a position to dictate its explicit

aspirations to restore German unity. Adenauer placed the matter on the knife's edge: "Unity before detente in Europe." When Dulles' roll-back politics crashed, Adenauer's argument had to fall. The formula for uniting Germany proposed by CDU was too harsh to have a chance to succeed in postwar Europe and in a situation with a divided Germany. The existence of the GDR, the politics of separation from Western Germany being realized in Berlin after 13 August 1961, cancelled all possible chances of a frontal attempt at status quo ante.

This is why Brandt embarked on a circuitous route to regain the unity of the nation, even if this was to last for an unspecified amount of time. But the roadsign was in place. The goal was set. Julian Bartosz' publication is mainly dedicated to this problem, which I consider a substantial contribution to the development of the subject touched upon, so timidly presented in our journalism. We were--and perhaps still are--under the spell of Brandt's personality and his achievements in the area of establishing closer relations between West Germany and Poland, because too often we automatically pushed aside the principle lines of his "German" diplomatic action, perhaps only subconsciously realizing that the eastern policy and of Brandt and the SPD was never a goal in itself and as Bartosz states--"of value for itself." No one changes policy for nothing if the policy is supported by the majority of voters, even though he knows that with indignation or gestures one will not get very far. The West German society in endorsing Brandt's policy realized that the road chosen by him is considerably more certain than power politics as suggested to Adenauer by Walter Hallstein. And in reality only traces of Hallstein's doctrine remain, while Brandt's conception pulsates full of life.

In an article printed in 1971 in a collective work "One Hundred Years of Germany" (counting from Bismarck) Brandt did not hide his thoughts at all. He described in it his own path toward reunification of Germany--precisely the roundabout way which Bartosz writes about. Only he did not make a myth out of it, as the Polish author attributes to him. He simply took over the baton from the hands of Adenauer at a moment when the CDU was out of breath in the German marathon of power status. Instead he has a much better moral predisposition than his predecessors in the Chancellor's chair and he understood quite early the European spirit of the times which could at a stage of coexistence and in the Helsinki climate, numb public opinion to understand the essence of his measures. Bartosz' book sensitizes us precisely to this, operating with a serious scientific framework and with the accuracy of analysis which fittingly describes Brandt's doctrine as spontaneous.

Bartosz' position, exceptional in our journalistic expertise on Germany, also deserves to be emphasized because it gives us at the same time a glance at the development of the wartime political thoughts of the SPD as a source of inspiration in the realization of the program whose exponent became Willy Brandt.

9126
CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

OLYMPIC STAR COMANECI HAILS NEW NATIONAL ANTHEM

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Nov 77 p 2

[Letter from Nadia Comaneci, multiple champion, Hero of Socialist Labor:
"May It Accompany Our Steps to the Highest Pinnacles"]

[Text] Every time I go abroad, far away from the country and from loved ones, at the sound of our national anthem accompanying the arising of the flag of the fatherland to full mast--as a result of an athletic victory--my soul vibrates with pride. This is because I see the most precious feelings and aspirations of each citizen of our country combined together in the national anthem.

I heard our new national anthem on the radio on the first evening that it was broadcast. Although I knew the melody well it seemed as if I heard it for the first time because of the verses which made such a strong impression on me. They speak perfectly about what has been achieved in Romania during the years of socialism, about the workers' enthusiasm and struggle, about our aspirations for the future. I am thinking, especially, about the last verse of our dear anthem, in which Romania is envisioned as brilliant as a star in the communist era.

We, the school children in my city, have been singing the anthem every day, at the beginning and the end of the school day.

As athletes, we fervently desire that at the first prestigious international competition we will mount the highest pinnacle of the podium to the strains of our new national anthem, so dear to all the citizens of our country.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

NOTED HISTORIAN GINRESCU MOURNED

[Editorial Report] The obituary column of the Bucharest daily ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian, of 15 November 1977, page 4 contains an announcement from the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania reporting the death at the age of 76 of Academician Constantin C. Giurescu, on 13 November 1977. The item says: "Giurescu was a brilliant personality in the field of Romanian historical science and university education. For 50 years Giurescu carried on, with an exemplary tenacity and sense of order, an intensive work in the area of the study, knowledge, and presentation of the history of Romania in the country and abroad. C.C. Giurescu enriched the field of Romanian learning with more than 350 works on the history of the Romanians and their place in the history of the world. With the death of Academician Professor C.C. Giurescu, Romanian historical science suffers a great and heavy loss."

The same issue of the paper carries messages of sympathy from the N. Iorga Institute of History and the Faculty of History and Philosophy of Bucharest University. The 16 November issue of ROMANIA LIBERA, page 4, publishes messages of sympathy from the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, the management council of the "Romania" Association, of which Giurescu had been the vice chairman, and the editorial board of the review TRIBUNA ROMANIEI, as well as from the Nicolae Grigorescu Institute of Plastic Arts and the Institute of Art History. The 17 November issue of ROMANIA LIBERA, page 4, carries a message of sympathy from the Society of Historical Sciences of the Socialist Republic of Romania. In addition, the Bucharest weekly organ of the Writers Union, LUCEAFARUL, 19 November 1977, page 4, publishes a photo of Giurescu and a biography and tribute signed by Constantin Vladut and the Bucharest weekly SAPTAMINA, 18 November 1977, page 1, publishes a tribute by editor-in-chief Eugen Barbu.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

NEW DEPUTY CHAIRMAN IN NEAMT--Inasmuch as one of the positions of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council in Neamt County has become vacant and on the basis of Article 72 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Mihai Roman is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Neamt County. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 113, 29 Oct 77 p 2]

CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

VOJVODINA CONFERENCE ON IMPORTANCE OF SELF-PROTECTION

Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2305 GMT 10 Nov 77 LD

[Text] Sombor--Social self-protection has become an everyday task for the working people and citizens of Vojvodina, it was stated at today's meeting of the presidents and secretaries of the councils of local communities of all the municipalities in Vojvodina, held in Sombor to assess the results in the field of social self-protection.

Taking part in the meeting in addition to representatives of all the municipalities in Vojvodina were Zdravko Loncar, president of the Chamber of Municipalities of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Republic of Vojvodina; and Maj Gen Rudolf Jontovic, provincial secretary for national defense.

Assessing the results achieved to date in the implementation of social self-protection tasks, Zdravko Loncar said, among other things, that security, social self-protection and all-people's defense constitute extremely important spheres of our social life and work and are the precondition for the more rapid economic and political development of Vojvodina, which means also of our whole community. We may be justly proud of the results achieved in the realization of social self-protection, but there is no room for complacency. On the contrary, what we have achieved so far through joint efforts constitutes a firm foundation for yet greater efforts in this exceptionally important sphere.

Loncar also stressed that social self-defense cannot be the monopoly of people who are engaged in this work professionally, but must be the right and obligation of every individual. This is a qualitatively new step in the socialization of self-protection, which means the participation of all conscious self-managing forces in the realization of this exceptionally important task. We have stabilized the political system of our community not through administrative measures but through organized political activity, involving all true fighters for the more rapid progress of the community of all Yugoslav nations and nationalities on the basis of equal rights.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

CONSTITUTIONAL HANDLING OF INTEREST COMMUNITIES OUTLINED

Belgrade VOJNOEKONOMSKI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian No 4, Jul-Aug 77 pp 72-82

[Article* by Col Dimitrije Kenkovski, lawyer: "Treatment of Self-Managed Special-Interest Communities in the Constitution and Their Financing"]

[Text] The constant expansion of the range of human needs which can be satisfied only on a socially organized basis is characteristic of contemporary society. That is why we see the rapid development of the public services. But regardless of the ever greater material capabilities of meeting human needs, contemporary man is oppressed by the feeling of a multitude of contradictions and frequently feels too weak to have an effect on issues concerning his everyday life. It is therefore natural that progressive thought from the second half of the 19th century to this very day has been concerned with the question of advancing beyond the situation in which man's needs are becoming ever more advanced, while at the same time he is becoming more and more dependent on public institutions and on forces alienated from him and aloof from his influence.

All attempts along this line, however, have not yielded the desired results. Only with development of the new socialist relations among people based on self-management does man come into a position where he can control the conditions of his life and work in a more direct way and create on his own the material foundation for a more progressive and humanistic solution to this important problem.

In such a context man becomes more and more organized through self-management concerning all the basic aspects of his public life. Our socialist system of self-management has among other things provided a solution to this problem in the form of "self-managed special-interest communities" [SIZ], whose foundations in constitutional law were laid down by the SFRY Constitution and the constitutions of the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces and also by the Law on Associated Labor.

The 1963 and previous constitutions did not mention self-managed special-interest communities. Their creation began in 1965, though an elaborate

* This article refers specifically to the Social Security Community of Military Insureds.

theoretical conception had not been previously developed; rather this development arose out of practical needs and was in conformity with the development of self-management relations. As this system developed, it became possible to expand self-management into all spheres of public life, social labor and public services, and this was an involvement that consisted not only of influence, but also of disposition of the surplus value of labor.

The self-managed special-interest communities came into being as a practical need of self-management, yet they first received their definitive form in the constitutional amendments, and were then worked out in detail in the constitution itself. Under Article 51 of the SFRY Constitution self-managed special-interest communities are established by working people directly or through self-managed organizations and communities in order to fulfill their needs and pursue their interests as individuals and as a group and in order to coordinate work in the field for which they are establishing the special-interest community. The self-managed special-interest community is thereby related to such public services as the following: education, science, culture, health and social welfare, as well as old-age and disability insurance, housing, municipal services, and then fuel and power, water management, transportation, and so on.

As conceived in the constitution self-managed special-interest communities are an integral part of the sociopolitical system as a whole. They are established in order to meet joint needs in pursuit of joint interests and in order to bring the work done in the various fields into line with their own needs and their own interests. Accordingly, they do not represent an organizational form of the public services themselves either in the context of self-management or in the economic sense.

Self-managed special-interest communities have at the same time a great number of characteristics in common, but there are also differences among them. The differences depend on whether their purpose is the free exchange of labor (public services), old-age and disability forms of social insurance (social security and solidarity communities), the pooling of funds for housing construction and joint management of apartment houses (in housing communities). There are several levels of self-managed special-interest communities. At every level, however, they are self-managed, and under the constitution they are legal persons. Consequently, the term special-interest community covers not only those special-interest communities specifically denominated as such, but also basic communities, units and alliances, that is, associations or broader special-interest communities.

Units and basic communities are not branch offices or subordinate establishments of self-managed special-interest communities, nor are broader communities federations of special-interest communities which enter into alliance. All of these are self-managed, which means that many more interests and rights can be pursued in basic units or units of a particular activity, depending on the nature of that activity and the natural level at which the particular benefit is obtained.

We have said that self-managed special-interest communities are an essential element in the socioeconomic and sociopolitical system and that they have an important unifying function in it. Under the constitution self-managed special-interest communities perform this function in the following ways: 1) by free exchange of labor; 2) through self-management planning; 3) by realizing the principle of solidarity and reciprocity, and 4) through the delegate system of decisionmaking.

The social essence of self-managed special-interest communities in the domain of the public services is contained in the liberation of labor from statist and other forms of mediation and then in the establishment of direct natural and functional relations among workers in associated labor and then between the public services and workers in associated labor in the physical production sector. Through free exchange of labor the working people from the physical production sector take up a position through the self-managed special-interest communities whereby they can monitor and decide on movement of that portion of net income which leaves their organization of associated labor and which is used to satisfy their needs as individuals and as a group.

In setting aside a portion of their net income the working people can have an influence on establishment of the amount, type and quality of services which they obtain for that portion of their income from working people in the public services. At the same time the self-managed special-interest community makes it possible for the working people in the public services to earn their income through free exchange of labor and on that basis to provide for themselves the same socioeconomic status as the working people in the physical production sector. Real conditions are thereby created for advancing beyond the conception of the public services as a nonproductive sphere of society, a consumer.

The principle of reciprocity and solidarity is an essential element in self-managed special-interest communities. This principle is expressed in various ways as a function of their nature. In self-managed special-interest communities in which there is a free exchange of labor the principle of reciprocity and solidarity is implemented in that all the working people and citizens who are users of services are guaranteed an appropriate level of satisfaction of their needs for public services regardless of their financial situation and the financial situation of their organization of labor, that is, regardless of the material contribution made to self-managed special-interest communities (elementary education, health care, etc.). There are, however, self-managed special-interest communities in which the principle of reciprocity and solidarity and the bearing of a common risk constitute the foundation for a pooling of resources in which the working people, in conformity with the principle of reciprocity, solidarity and past labor, fix their own obligations as a group and as individuals toward those communities and also state the rights which they realize through them as a group and as individuals. These are self-managed special-interest communities in the domain of old-age and disability insurance and in other fields where the working people guarantee their own social security.

Special-interest communities are an important factor in the system of self-management planning in our society. Under the constitution they have the obligation of establishing the development policy and of promoting the activities for which the community was established. The plans and programs of self-managed special-interest communities are based on the needs of the working people in local communities. Planning is therefore one of the important instruments in the hands of self-managed special-interest communities in the context of the entire society.

The delegate principle applies universally in our sociopolitical system, so that it also applies to self-managed special-interest communities. However, the constitution does not specifically treat the delegate mechanism in self-managed special-interest communities. Yet experience has confirmed that it can be set up the same way as in assemblies of sociopolitical communities.

Article 52 of the Constitution provides for the possibility of establishing a self-managed special-interest community for housing construction and management of dwelling units for active military personnel and civilian employees of the armed forces. Enactment of the Law on the Special-Interest Community for Housing Construction and Management of Dwellings of Active Military Personnel and Civilian Employees of the SFRY Armed Forces has set forth the basic principles governing the organization, financing and functioning of that special-interest community. The constitution also provided that active military personnel and civilian employees of the SFRY Armed Forces shall exercise these rights in conformity with the nature of the activity and character of the armed forces. The exercise of those rights can be provided for and regulated only by law. In accordance with this principle and with due respect for the specific features of the armed forces, the Law on Old-Age and Disability Insurance and the Law on Health Insurance have provided for the actual system of social security for military insureds, and the system is administered by the Social Security Community of Military Insureds.

The Social Security Community of Military Insureds is a unified self-managed organization in which the rights of military insureds are exercised and in which resources are furnished to finance the social security of military insureds. The Federation organizes by law the Community of Military Insureds according to the basic principles used in organizing the communities of worker insureds.

Unlike the workers' social security community, in which old-age and disability insurance are organized separately from health insurance, the Social Security Community of Military Insureds is organized as a unified old-age, disability and health insurance community, including child welfare as well. In Yugoslavia worker old-age and disability insurance is administered by eight self-managed special-interest communities formed on the regional principle--by republics and autonomous provinces. The Social Security Community of Military Insureds has been set up for all military insureds in Yugoslavia. The community is made up of active military personnel, persons entitled to a monthly cash compensation because their service terminated at the

request of the service, and recipients of old-age, disability and survivors' pensions under the Law on Old-Age and Disability Insurance.

The Social Security Community of Military Insureds and the manner of its organization and activity are affected by numerous specific features which are not characteristic of other self-managed special-interest communities.

First of all, the insureds of this community are military personnel. Questions of status, i.e., their relationship in the service, are regulated in a specific way in view of the tasks and role of the armed forces. This community has been set up for the entire territory of Yugoslavia, and consequently, because of the specific nature of military organization, its internal organization is by military installations.

The Law on Establishment of the Community of Military Insureds was enacted in 1972, and it took effect on 1 January 1973. This means that the community was established before enactment of the new SFRY Constitution.

The powers, rights and obligations of the Social Security Community of Military Personnel are regulated by the Law on Old-Age and Disability Insurance and the Law on Health Insurance of Military Insureds. It has its own bylaws in which its organization and procedures are defined in detail. The specific characteristics of this community are as follows:

- 1) the self-managed special-interest community of military insureds is unified over the entire territory of Yugoslavia;
- 2) it is organized according to the provisions of the Law on Old-Age and Disability Insurance and the Law on Health Insurance of Military Insureds;
- 3) it administers old-age, disability and health insurance;
- 4) it has the status of a legal person with headquarters in Belgrade;
- 5) military insureds exercise self-management in assemblies set up for each military installation and assemblies that cover more than one installation and in the Assembly of the Social Security Community; and
- 6) the installation and interinstallation assemblies of military insureds constitute a self-management form for reconciliation of views, decisionmaking and administration of the community's affairs.

The rights and duties of military insureds as members of the community are defined in conformity with Article 30, Paragraph 5, of the SFRY Constitution, that is, in accordance with the nature and character of the armed forces.

So that the members of the community might exercise their rights to self-management, the bylaws of the community state that they have the rights and duty to participate actively in the proceedings of the assemblies of the military installations at which they have been elected, to express their

opinions, to elect members of delegations directly, to participate in examination of issues concerning the community's organization and performance, to make their own proposals concerning matters in the domain of social security of military insureds, and to be informed about the work of delegations, and at the same time they are required to implement the decisions and resolutions of the assembly. Members of the Community of Military Insureds exercise these rights and discharge these duties through the organizational forms envisaged by the community's bylaws.

The community is set up on the delegate and assembly principle--there are assemblies of military insureds at each military installation, and their delegations sit in interinstallation assemblies all the way to the community's assembly. The assembly of the community is the governing body of the Community of Military Insureds. Military insureds and military pensioners participate in administering social insurance either directly or through delegates in assemblies and meetings. The installation and interinstallation assemblies have no decisionmaking right. They scrutinize, make recommendations and furnish advice. It is in them that military insureds participate in administration of social security. There is an installation assembly at every place where there is a military installation and also at places where there are more than 50 insureds. The draft of the new bylaws provides for the institution of meetings of military insureds, which would be set up at places where there are fewer than 50 military insureds, and at places where there are more than 200 insureds, the meetings would be organized by local communities. It is also possible for there to be several meetings within one local community. The meeting of military insureds is supposed to take up questions important to the social security of military insureds, drafts of bylaws and other self-management acts, to submit suggestions and opinions of that meeting to installation assemblies, to initiate settlement of issues within the powers of the community, to hear the reports of delegations and delegates, and to issue guidelines governing their work and participation in decisionmaking. The meeting makes up the delegation.

The installation assemblies are made up of all military insureds residing within the particular area. Under the previous bylaws the installation assembly was the basic organizational form in which all military insureds came together to make decisions on social security matters as envisaged by regulations. However, according to the draft of the new bylaws installation assemblies are made up of delegates elected by meetings of insureds. But if there are fewer than 200 military insureds at a particular place, all military insureds make up the installation assembly. The new bylaws of the installation assembly provide that as a rule they shall have at least 20, but no more than 50 candidates, depending on the number of military insureds.

As the installation assemblies are now organized, each has its delegation of 15 delegates. The assembly provides guidelines and states the positions from which delegates are to take their guidance in their own work. As the basis for the broad decisionmaking of military insureds in self-management, the installation assembly has the right and duty to take up issues pertaining to administration of social security of the community's members and

specifically to take up issues concerning health protection of military insureds and members of their families. In order to promote health care the installation assembly collaborates with the competent agencies and organizations and with medical institutions at that place and make suggestions as to improvement of the use of medical services. It has an important role in this regard. In addition to the delegation which it makes up, the installation assembly also establishes commissions as necessary for specific areas and activities, such as old-age and disability insurance, settlement of housing problems, rest and recreation, information, etc.

One of the forms of self-management and self-management organization is the interinstallation assembly. This assembly is organized at the headquarters of the commands of military districts, the naval district and the Titograd Military Region. These assemblies have an important role in the system of the community's self-management and organization. In addition to the aid which they extend to installation assemblies, they become coordinator of the work of all the installation assemblies within their territory. Through their delegates in the community's supreme body, they make decisions on all matters in administration of social security. They also have a particular duty to take up issues concerning administration of the health service of military personnel on their territory and also health service of members of families of military insureds, and they have a duty to take steps to improve and promote health service. These assemblies also have their own commissions for various affairs in the domain of health care, social welfare and pension insurance.

The supreme governing body of the community is the assembly of the community. It is formed for the entire territory of Yugoslavia and has its headquarters in Belgrade. The assembly is made up delegates and by the interinstallation assemblies. Active military personnel, recipients of cash compensation, and recipients of old-age and disability pensions are represented in it. The community's assembly has its own executive committee, which is the executive agency of the assembly of the community. The assembly sets up committees and commissions for specific areas within its jurisdiction.

The powers of the community's assembly are set forth in the Law on Old-Age and Disability Insurance and the Law on Health Insurance. It performs its normative activity in accordance with law and prescribes the rights to which military insureds are entitled and the manner in which they shall be exercised. It has so far enacted a number of decisions and general acts to build up the system of social welfare for military insureds and members of their families. With the consent of the federal secretary it also adopts the financial plan of the social security fund (old age, disability and health) and certifies the year-end statement of the fund. Another area of affairs of the community's assembly consists of issuing guidelines and proposals and the taking of steps to promote and improve the social security of military insureds. In addition to these affairs, the assembly also handles matters in the field of administrative proceedings in the second instance. Through its commission it rules in the second instance on appeals of military insureds against the decisions of the professional staff made in the

first instance and reviews all decisions in the first instance made by the professional staff of the Social Security Bureau.

Before adopting particular measures and enacting decisions the assembly and the community is required to organize a democratic public debate and to obtain the opinion of interested agencies and bodies. However, in emergency cases it has the power to adopt general acts without consultation.

Social security of military insureds organized in this manner is having a beneficial effect on moral-political unity of military insureds and military pensioners, guarantees their financial position and security, and is helping to enhance the combat readiness of the armed forces and the stability of the military vocation and is helping the Yugoslav People's Army to staff itself with new personnel.

The manner of financing of self-managed special-interest communities prescribed by the constitution is expressed in the principle that the working people shall pay contributions to self-managed special-interest communities from their own personal income and from the earnings of organizations of associated labor. Additional sources of financing are associated labor and resources created by pooling.

In accordance with this constitutional principle, the contribution becomes the principal source for financing self-managed special-interest communities. The nature of the contribution as a form of revenue of self-managed special-interest communities is expressed in terms of the principle on which the working people pay contributions and depends directly on the type of special-interest community involved, since, as we have already stressed, there are several types of self-managed special-interest communities. There are the following types from the standpoint of financing:

- i. self-managed special-interest communities for which the obligation to pay the contribution is established by the self-management accord establishing them, and
- ii. self-managed special-interest communities for which the obligation to pay the contribution is prescribed by law or by decision of a sociopolitical community based on law.

The contribution has been a financial category in our system since back in 1952 when the Basic Law on Social Contributions and Taxes was enacted. From that time until enactment of the 1974 Constitution the contribution took several forms and represented a revenue of sociopolitical communities.

As relations in the public services have been socialized and as special-interest communities have been set up, their source of revenues was established. We should say that the funds obtained through contributions have not been sufficient to meet all expenditures of these special-interest communities, so that other sources, usually a part of a particular tax, have also been established as a source of revenues in addition to contributions.

Since the self-management accord is the principal fact establishing them, that accord sets forth rights, obligations and responsibility in mutual relations and establishes financial obligations and sources of funds.

Only working people and basic organizations of associated labor may be subject to the obligation to pay a contribution. Accordingly, a contribution may be paid only from personal income or from the net income of the organization of associated labor, or in exceptional cases from old-age and disability benefits. This contribution may be paid only from that part of personal income remaining to the workingman after legal obligations have been met. The contribution is paid to the self-managed special-interest community after the year-end statement is rendered, which is an obstacle to its being paid during the year, since it is not by nature a legal obligation. In practice there are quite a few cases in which the contribution is paid before adoption of the year-end statement.

The working people set the level of the contribution and the manner of its payment themselves, taking into account the scope and nature of tasks of that community and the needs and interests of themselves as individuals and as a group which that community is meant to serve. A contribution whose payment is required by law or by decision of a sociopolitical community based on law is prescribed as a revenue for a certain number of self-managed special-interest communities, specifically those whose activity is of particular public interest. These are above all self-managed special-interest communities in the domains of education, science, culture, the health service and social welfare.

Self-managed special-interest communities have been granted the right to set the rate of the contribution after first obtaining the opinion of the assembly of the sociopolitical community. This represents a further socialization of a government function, that is, its transferral to the system of socialist self-management.

The constitutional principle we have mentioned is applied in financing the Social Security Community of Military Insureds with due respect for certain specific features in the organization and financing of the Yugoslav People's Army.

The constitution specifically states that the Federation shall provide for the financing of the social security system of military insureds. It does so when it sets the rates at which contributions are charged to the incomes of military insureds or when it provides the necessary money in the budget to cover the costs of social security.

Funds are furnished to administer the social security system of military insureds and to pay benefits under the Law on Old-Age and Disability Insurance of Military Insureds and under the Law on Health Insurance of Military Insureds. Funds to pay these benefits are supplied from the contributions of military insureds and also from other revenues. By "other revenues" is meant funds appropriated from the federal budget and supplemental funds.

The supplying of funds in the federal budget is based on the obligation that the Federation finance the payment of benefits to veterans which it has itself prescribed and on the obligation to provide supplemental financing. The fund receives these resources as reimbursement or as a supplement. Their amount depends on the insurance benefits paid that cannot be covered by the contribution. This means that the contribution for old-age and disability insurance and the contribution for health insurance of military insureds, together with the other contributions of the fund (the obligation from the federal budget) should be sufficient to pay all prescribed benefits arising out of pension, disability and health insurance of military insureds and members of their families.

The contribution for old-age, disability and health insurance is paid at the rate set by the Federal Assembly separately for old-age and disability insurance and for health insurance. The rates of the contributions are set before the beginning of the calendar year in which their application begins. If a new rate of the contribution is not established before that date, the rate from the previous period will be applied.

The base used in computing the contribution for old-age and disability insurance is the salary and other earnings used in establishing the pension base. In the case of active military personnel and recipients of cash compensation that base consists of earnings which they receive under regulations concerning salaries of active military personnel or, if they are outside the YPA, under regulations concerning personal income received, but at the rate at which contributions are computed for old-age and disability insurance of workers in that organization.

Payers of the contribution for old-age and disability insurance and health insurance are military units and military institutions--for active military personnel and for persons receiving cash compensation because their active military service was terminated at the request of the service, and it is paid by organizations of associated labor and other organizations outside the YPA for active military personnel working in those organizations. Payers of the contribution for health insurance of military insureds are military units and military institutions for active military personnel and persons receiving cash compensation, while the Social Security Bureau of Military Insureds pays the contribution for pension recipients.

The fund of the Old-Age and Disability Insurance Community of Military Insureds is built up with the revenues received for old-age and disability insurance. The health insurance fund of military insureds is built up with the money received for health insurance.

The old-age and disability insurance fund and the health insurance fund are administered by the Social Security Bureau of Military Insureds in conformity with the Law on Old-Age and Disability Insurance and the Law on Health Insurance and also with the decision and guidelines of the assembly of the Community of Military Insureds. The bureau is responsible for spending these funds for the stated purpose in providing services and benefits to military personnel and members of their families.

In his address at the 20th Assembly of the Permanent Conference of Yugoslav Cities Comrade Kardelj stressed that self-managed special-interest communities in our self-managed socialist system must equip themselves to discharge their public duties with the same responsibility as government agencies. In other words, when these functions are transferred to special-interest communities, they are assuming a very important role and very great responsibility to the working people and to society as a whole.

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